California Historical Society *Quarterly*

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1937

Henry Wager Halleck, Lincoln's Chief-of-Staff 195
MILTON H. SHUTES

Identification of the Author of "The Farthest West" Letters from California, 1846 209
JOHN ADAM HUSSEY

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Sonoma—A Biography and a History . 216
GEORGE TAYS
(Continued)

Contributions for the Purchase of the Frederick C. Clift Collection . . 255

Ridge's Life of Joaquin Murieta 256
The First and Revised Editions Compared
FRANKLIN WALKER

New Members 262

Thomas Oliver Larkin in 1831 263
A Letter from North Carolina
ROBERT J. PARKER

Is the Drake Plate of Brass Genuine? 271
R. B. HASELDEN

Some Notes with Regard to Drake's Plate of Brass 275
ALLEN L. CHICKERING

Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco 282
Compiled by Dorothy H. Huggins

Meetings of the Society 286

Gifts Received by the Society, June 1 to August 31, 1937 287

Personalia and Marginalia 288

VOLUME XVI : NUMBER 3

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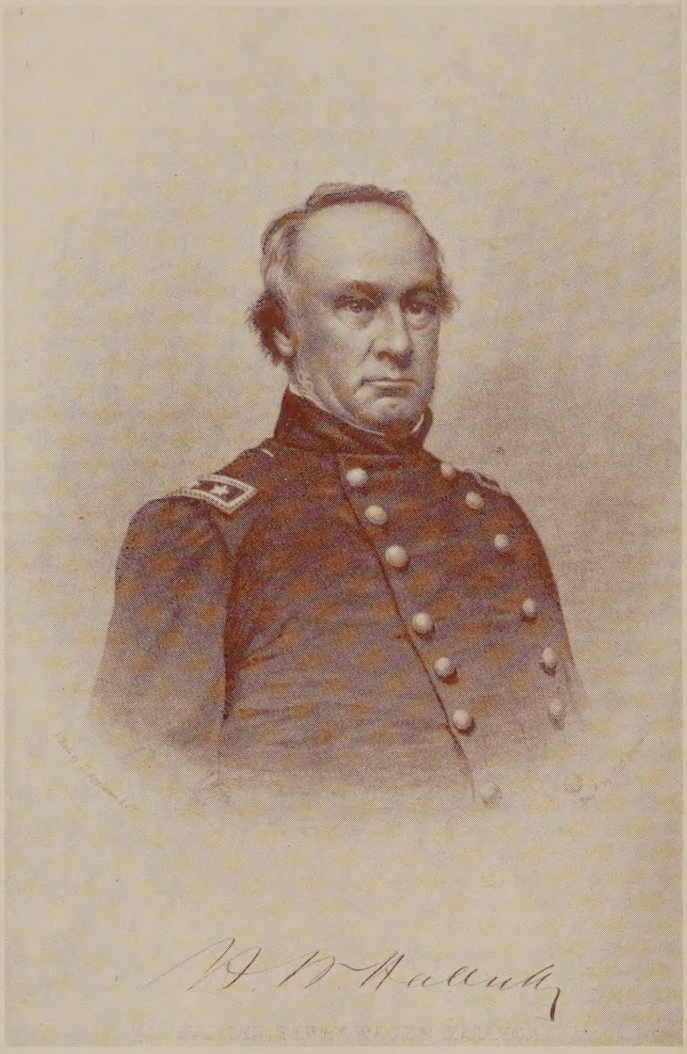

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VOLUME XVI NUMBER 3

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HENRY WAGER HALLECK

Lincoln's Chief-of-Staff

By MILTON H. SHUTES

DURING the War Between the States there were four major-generals of the United States Army, all of whom had been civil residents and home owners in California. They were John Charles Frémont, William Tecumseh Sherman, Henry Wager Halleck and Joseph Hooker.

Frémont, the "Pathfinder," and Sherman have not only left us their memoirs, but about their eventful lives volumes have been written. With Hooker and Halleck the case is far different. Their California careers have been neglected and it is only incidentally that their names come to the fore in the pages of the history of the War, although each earned for himself a picturesque sobriquet: Hooker, that of "Fighting Joe" and Halleck, that of "Old Brains."

At the end of the amazing decade of the fifties in California, one of the most distinguished citizens of San Francisco was Henry Wager Halleck, a man of culture, of practical affairs, and wealthy. He lived in his unpretentious home in the exclusive South Park district on Rincon Hill at the corner of Second and Folsom streets.

Halleck, born (January 16, 1815) and bred in Oneida County, New York, among the sturdy post-Revolutionary folk of the Mohawk Valley, was a descendant of Peter Hallock, who came to America in 1640. When he was ready for higher education, a generous relative, Henry Wager, sent him to Union College; and later he entered West Point Military Academy, from which he

was graduated in 1839, number three in a class of thirty-one. He remained at the Academy for two more years as assistant professor of engineering.[1]

The studious young lieutenant was then sent to Europe on a tour of observation, accompanying the entourage of Napoleon's beloved Field-Marshal Bertrand, who had been on a visit to America. After spending some time in study in France, he was granted the rare privilege of inspecting the fortifications. On his return, he was put to work on the defenses of New York harbor. His *Report on the Means of National Defense,* published by Congress, led to an invitation to deliver a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute of Boston on "The Elements of Military Art and Science." These lectures were published a year later by Lippincott and Company and were used as a textbook at West Point. The book was republished later in a revised edition for volunteer officers of the Civil War. This, briefly, is the preparatory background of Henry Wager Halleck for his subsequent career.[2]

Soon after the War with Mexico began early in 1846, he was ordered with a small group of young West Pointers to California to cooperate with the Navy. On the U. S. store-ship *Lexington,* were two close friends, Lieutenants William T. Sherman and E. O. C. Ord. While those two men used every opportunity to snare a deep-sea bird or fish, young Halleck of the Engineers contentedly continued his translation from the French of Baron Jomini's, *The Political and Military Life of Napoleon.*[3]

The officers came ashore at peaceful appearing Monterey in January, 1847, to find the quarrel between Commodore Stockton, General Kearny, and Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont in full swing. "Who the devil *is* Governor of California?" they wanted to know. When Commodore Shubrick replaced Commodore Stockton very soon afterward, Halleck became his aide-de-camp along the Mexican coast and for a very brief period was Lieutenant-Governor of Mazatlan.[4] After participating in a couple of unsanguinary battles with the Mexicans in Lower California in 1847, he was brevetted a captain. Upon his return to Monterey, General R. B. Mason, who had replaced General Kearny as Military Governor of California, made him his "Secretary of State" and Auditor of Revenues.

Halleck took hold of his duties with the correct competence expected of an officer so highly trained and educated. During the remainder of the War his duties were comparatively simple; but after the news of peace with Mexico reached California in August, 1848, they became difficult and exacting. The Mexican laws which were adequate for the Spanish-speaking people were unsuited for the land-hungry Americans who were pouring in. New and modified laws were necessary, and Halleck set about formulating such a system. He based his course of action on the principles laid down by the United States Supreme Court in regard to the occupation of Florida, which also had been acquired by treaty. He collected and examined all that he could find concerning laws and regulations governing the granting and

selling of public and mission lands and private property, and succeeded in compiling a translation and digest of the workable portion of the Mexican laws for the use of courts and justices.[5]

During this period, Captain Halleck, always the student, burrowed into the California archives. The result was a careful study of land titles, and the report he wrote for the Government at Washington was largely, if not entirely, responsible for the first United States Land Commission of 1851, which was sent to California to settle the tangle of title claims.[6]

Halleck was probably the first American to appreciate early California history; certainly he was the very first collector of Californiana. While in Monterey, he began to gather Spanish documents which eventually numbered several hundred, consisting of some 4,000 pages; originals and transcripts of originals—official reports of missions, explorations, Indian uprisings, governmental and political matters, taken from the heart of the records at Monterey. This acquisition, though a bit high-handed and, possibly, illegal, was historically fortunate. For if Edwin M. Stanton, agent for the Federal Archives Commission had not found them while on his mission to California in 1858, and had not deposited the documents in the Surveyor-General's office in San Francisco where they belonged, Hubert Howe Bancroft could not have had them copied and thus have preserved their contents. As it is, copies of Halleck's documents and transcripts are now secure in the Bancroft Library at the University of California—all that remains of the archives of territorial California, the originals having been lost in the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906.[7]

To meet the constantly increasing perplexities of government greatly augmented by the Gold Rush, meetings were held in San Francisco, Monterey, Sonoma and San Jose for the purpose of forming a Provisional Territorial Government. By spring of 1849, every kind and make of human being was headed for California. With them came General Bennet Riley to replace Governor Mason. Governor Riley promptly reappointed Halleck acting Secretary of State, and "sat down with him to study the situation," which was rapidly growing more serious. Congress had just failed, after a six months' struggle, to grant a territorial government, so General Riley issued a proclamation—the work largely of his able Secretary, it was said—in which it was proposed to set up temporary machinery of government and to call a general convention, on September 1, 1849, to form a state constitution.[8]

The proclamation was posted in all public places. Riley and his staff, on horseback, traveled the mining regions to explain the propositions contained in the proclamation. The business of constitution-making seemed something visionary to many and a matter of no importance to the indifferent.

When the Convention met in Monterey in September, Halleck was there as its secretary and, in a large measure, its brains. Because he had given

more studious thought to the subject than any other, he was under General Riley's instructions to help frame the new constitution. Halleck played a quietly important rôle in the birth throes of that historic document. Reverend Samuel H. Willey, member from Monterey, referred to Halleck as a "man of practical sense and balanced judgment"; he wrote that Halleck sat near the door of that upper room in Colton Hall, that nothing escaped his watchful eye and that, though he made few if any speeches, he was more responsible for the important articles in the constitution than any other man; that because of his unassuming, unobtrusive, and reasonable manner he aroused no antagonism. Rather he enjoyed the respect and confidence of the entire Convention and his name was one of the most prominent ones before the assembly for one of the United States senatorships that were won by "pathfinder" Frémont and politician Gwin. The Reverend Dr. Willey remembered also that when the Convention was over, the first man he heard spoken of "for the first Governor of the new State-to-be, was Secretary Halleck."[9]

Halleck, however, possessed no talent for either the romantic gesture or the art of politics. His personality was too indifferent, too coolly reserved and scholarly. Sheer respect was not enough with which to win elective public office. And for the same reason, perhaps, his important contribution to public service during the years from 1846 to 1849 is but little remembered in California. When General Riley was about to leave the West, he generously said on a public occasion, "My success in the affairs of California is owing to the efficient aid rendered me by Captain Halleck, the Secretary of State."[10]

Halleck remained as Secretary of State until he resigned during December of 1849. He knew that henceforth civil government in California would take on the usual partner, politics; and like his friend Lieutenant Sherman, Halleck had no liking for the thing they both had no talent for. In any case, his weather eye was open for a business career. With his knowledge of California land titles a valuable practical asset, he saw an opportunity. So did two San Francisco law partners. They combined their professional resources and for one month ran the following "business card" on the front page of the *Alta California*:

> Halleck, Peachy and Billings, Attorneys and Solicitors, San Francisco. Office, the room at present occupied by Peachy and Billings, on the north side of Sacramento Street, between Kearny and Dupont Sts. Mr. Billings Commissioner for New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut. H. Wager Halleck, Arch'd Carey Peachy, Frederick Billings, January 1, 1850.[11]

This combination came to be the ablest legal firm on the Pacific Coast, unsurpassed even to this day. In addition to its general interests, it won the lion's share of land claim cases, handling over eight hundred of the fourteen hundred such cases on the court's dockets. An excellent description of the firm is that by Robert E. Cowan: "When I began, almost forty years ago,

to collect and study the sources of local history, naturally I found a more or less extensive, occasionally intimate, acquaintance with many prominent members of that earlier generation, sundry judges and lawyers amongst others. Many times have I heard that remarkable firm discussed, and without a dissenting vote. Halleck prepared the law points and wrote the briefs and rarely were they torn open in the courts. Peachy, a Virginian, handsome, polished and eloquent, invariably presented the arguments, and even in the forensic wealth of the bar of that day, there were very few who could surpass him. Billings, accomplished, affable, a graceful orator, equally at home in church, club, or bar-room, brought in the business."[12]

Within the year, they were guaranteeing land titles for such prominent men as Robert F. Stockton and G. W. Aspinwall,[13] and within three years after the firm announced itself to the public they built (in 1853) an imposing four-story office building that for years was the finest west of the Rockies.

> Besides the 28 basement and first story stores, this immense pile contains 150 offices in its several floors,—all of which are furnished in gas, grates, &c. and with water in every hall, from an Artesian well in the court; all the openings are provided with substantial iron shutters; the brick walls are of great solidity, built on piles and carefully anchored and tied. . . . The whole edifice is a beautiful piece of Italian architecture, and has few rivals in the oldest settled countries.[14]

The building has been in constant use ever since. Much of the romance, good and bad, of early San Francisco was formed in and about it. Editor James King of William, for instance, shot down on the streets, was carried into the building; after a few suffering days there, his death once more aroused determined Vigilantes. Until the event of national Prohibition, it harbored in its corner, "The Bank Exchange," which for very many of its last years belonged to "Pisco John," who mixed his punches on the fringe of the Barbary Coast. The old structure escaped the earthquake and fire of 1906 and still stands, a busy business block, on Montgomery between Washington and Merchant streets, "modernized" but still eloquent of the past.

During the busy year of building the Montgomery Block, Halleck—unquestionably its construction engineer—remained on active duty in the army and was promoted from "brevet" rank to the regular grade of captain. He was active as an army inspector and engineer of lighthouses, as a member of a board of engineers on fortifications, and even as judge advocate. During this same year of 1853, Halleck was admitted to the bar, yet for three years he had been the senior member of a rapidly growing legal firm. Another curious matter: though he was rapidly enlarging his participation in private enterprise, he did not resign from the U. S. Army until August 1, 1854.

During the "fabulous '50's" in San Francisco, Halleck, in spite of a coolly reserved and none too friendly personality, grew into deserved prominence. He was a successful lawyer and business man and an author of scientific books and pamphlets. He was Director-General of the famous New Al-

maden (Quicksilver) Company, a director of the banking house of Parrott and Company, and President of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad to San Jose.[15] He was also a shrewd buyer of San Francisco real estate, and owner of the 30,000 acre Rancho Nicasio in Marin County.[16] His estate at his death showed a net value of $474,773.00.[17]

Halleck was as culturally eminent as he was financially successful, during those climbing years. He had long since written a book, *Bitumen, Its Varieties and Uses*. He published a *Collection of Mining Laws of Spain and Mexico*, and translated *Dr. Fooz on the Law of Mines*. He wrote about seven-hundred pages of an intended History of California, and, as a hobby, indulged in the study of heraldry.[18] He was a member of the first board of directors of the Society of California Pioneers, and as early as 1853, with others, attempted to create through the state legislature, a Historical Society of the State of California.[19] He had had occasion to refuse an offer by Harvard University to fill its chair of professor of engineering. He also refused a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of California, and later refused the opportunity, at least, to become a United States Senator.[20] Not the least of his achievements was his marriage (in 1855) to the granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton. [21] For all this, San Francisco named a little business street—sixteen feet wide and three blocks long—in his honor and later erected his statue in Golden Gate Park.[22]

Henry Wager Halleck was one of San Francisco's foremost and distinguished citizens and his law firm the outstandingly successful one for eleven eventful years.

Then, early in 1861, for reasons not clear, the closely knit firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings was, by mutual agreement, very quietly dissolved. The firm's library was sold at auction on April 22,[23] three days before the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached California. The reasons for the dissolution, therefore, were possibly, after all, merely a reflection of the acute misunderstanding between the North and the South—for Peachy was a Virginian.[24]

About a year before the war began, Governor Downey had appointed Halleck a brigadier-general (2nd Division) of the State Militia. Old General Scott, in a fret over the wholesale resignation of his West-Point-trained officers, looked with hope to the highly reputed Halleck. He easily persuaded President Lincoln to appoint him to high command. In August of 1861, four months after the fall of Sumter, Halleck received a commission of major-general in the regular army, and was summoned to Washington.

As soon as he could arrange his private affairs, including the completion of a 907-page book, considered very valuable at the time, on *International Law and Laws of War*,[25] Halleck left San Francisco (October 10) "on the *S. S. St. Louis* with his wife and child and two servants. A detachment of Pioneer California Guards will give him a salute of 13 guns on the Folsom

Street Wharf. California will lose one of her most patriotic and useful citizens."[26]

Reaching Washington a month later, he was immediately sent west to smooth out the military mess in Missouri, in which his fellow California pioneer, Major-General Frémont, had so completely entangled himself. The big job of reorganization was done with cool impartiality and without any fuss or newspaper trumpeting. One correspondent at this time referred to him as a sallow-faced, quiet, observant gentleman, going about his business.[27] Another commented on his "very striking resemblance to some Methodist parson dressed in regimentals, a wide, stiff-brimmed black felt hat sticking on the back of his head."[28] The work of organization and administration was admittedly effective; yet he found time to write an article "On the Art of War," a brief analysis "for a popular understanding and for officers of militia and volunteers." It was published in the *Hand Book Almanac* for 1862.[29]

Halleck seemed to have made good. Out on the western front he took over what was left of Frémont's soldiers, reorganized and drilled them into the armies with which Grant and Sherman finally released Ole Man Mississippi, "to flow [in the words of Lincoln] unvexed to the sea." Then he wisely advised the President immediately to correct the military error of having three independent commands in the West. Lincoln saw the point and placed Halleck in command.

Lincoln and the North continued to think well of Halleck. In contrast with the East, things went well in the West, even though those things—such as the capture of Forts McHenry and Donelson—were actually done by subordinate generals. Of this period, General Sherman wrote that "General Halleck was a man of great capacity, of large acquirements, and at the time possessed the confidence of the country, and of most of the army. I held him in high estimation, and gave him credit for the combinations which had resulted in placing this magnificent army of a hundred thousand men, well equipped and provided, with a good base at Corinth from which he could move in any direction."[30] That was generous praise. The two were still old friends from California, but Sherman had also voiced his impatience by complaining that "Halleck moved on Corinth with pick and shovel."[31] After Grant's bloody "victory" at Shiloh, Halleck moved so cautiously on Corinth that it took a month to reach it, only to find that Beauregard's outnumbered army was gone. It was during this campaign that Halleck's soldiers began calling him "Old Brains."[32] Halleck knew his books, but the books did not tell him how to fight. He knew his military fundamentals but he could or would not translate them into practical results.

Lincoln soon came to realize all this in his anxious search for a fighter. He was disappointed in Halleck, yet continued to be impressed by him. Halleck was a book-knowledged, scientific soldier, and might be of great

value in an advisory position; and Lincoln needed scientific advice. When he was elected captain by a company of raw recruits for the Black Hawk War, Lincoln knew only how to "forward" and "halt" it. Actually he had certain qualities that would have made him a great general if he had had any military training. In July, 1862, after the Army of the West under Halleck had executed, at a snail's pace, a perfectly formed and perfectly guarded advance on Corinth, Lincoln grew as impatient as the subordinate generals were. He ordered Halleck to Washington, and placed him in the professorial chair of "general-in-chief" of all the armies.[33]

It seemed a wise decision. Its immediate happy effect was to give Grant, a subordinate general, his opportunity. Grant used it with effectiveness even as he, with an affected innocence, found ways of quietly side-stepping some of Halleck's apparently meddlesome orders as he fought his way on the long, hard road to Vicksburg. But the ultimate good result of Lincoln's act is not so clear; for, from this time on, the presence of Halleck in Washington seemed, to contemporaries and to later students, a drag on the progress of winning the War. And everybody in Washington came to see it, it was said, except Lincoln. Halleck, himself, soon came to think that, as he wrote his wife, he was "in a political hell."[34]

After he arrived in Washington, the old enmity between himself and Stanton over the title fight for the New Almaden Mine in California immediately bobbed up, which prejudiced both in their necessarily close official relations. A few days before Halleck arrived, Stanton had said to General McClellan that Halleck was "probably the greatest scoundrel and most barefaced villain in America," and that he had convicted Halleck of perjury in open court in the New Almaden quicksilver case in San Francisco (in 1858). When Halleck arrived, he went to General McClellan with practically the same accusations against Stanton.[35] Such was the feeling between the Secretary of War and the General-in-Chief of the Armies! Lincoln had to weave a wise course between such deep grudges, just as he had to find his difficult way through the maze of incompetence, selfish ambitions, jealousies, and political entrenchments of many of his high military and administrative officers.

To write the complete story of Halleck would be to write a nearly complete history of the Civil War, for his influence runs through the story's entire fabric. It irritated his contemporaries and is still confusing to students of the war. The seemingly strange part of that story lies in the fact that Lincoln retained him at his post when nearly every general (especially Hooker and later Sherman) bristled at the very mention of Halleck and when all of Lincoln's cabinet members and many members of Congress and others in Washington disliked him utterly.[36]

When General Burnside, after his disastrous failure at Fredericksburg, contemplated another move that caused Lincoln more worry, the President wrote to Halleck:

My dear Sir: General Burnside wishes to cross the Rappahannock with his army, but his grand division commanders all oppose the movement. If in such a difficulty as this you do not help you fail me precisely in the point for which I sought your assistance. You know what General Burnside's plan is, and it is my wish that you go with him to the ground, examine it as far as practicable, confer with the officers, getting their judgment and ascertaining their temper—in a word, gather all the elements for forming a judgment of your own, and then tell General Burnside that you do or that you do not approve his plan. Your military skill is useless to me if you will not do this.[37]

Halleck resented Lincoln's impatient letter, and asked that it be withdrawn. It was evident, he wrote, that he could not perform the duties of his office satisfactorily to the President and to himself. He then sent his resignation to Secretary of War Stanton. Rather than lose his military consultant, Lincoln not only refused the resignation but withdrew the letter.[38]

Even when Grant was finally shifted from the Mississippi Valley to the Potomac River to be made a lieutenant-general and to succeed Halleck as General-in-Chief of all the Armies, Lincoln held on to him by raising him to the anomalous position of "Chief-of-Staff,"[39] and kept him there in the face of all opposition.

The vote in Congress over the bill to revive the grade of lieutenant-general for Grant passed the House by 86 to 41. The 2 to 1 vote to supersede Halleck with a higher-ranking general was largely an expression of the general dissatisfaction. Correspondent Noah Brooks of California wrote, "I doubt if the most outspoken and malignant copperhead in Congress was so disliked, so railed against, and so reviled by the more radical members as this unfortunate general-in-chief."[40] Congressman Riddle, of Ohio, in a reference to the emotional gesture of Congress in prodigally scattering its vote of thanks to the leaders of the Army and Navy, wrote, sarcastically, "We thanked everybody, even Halleck—though I never knew what for."[41]

Secretary of the Navy Welles, in his diary, gave the reasons for Lincoln's retention of Halleck in his exalted place, ". . . . the President said, and all the Cabinet concurred in the opinion, that Halleck—though intelligent and educated—would be an indifferent general in the field, that he shirked responsibility in his present position, that he, in short, is a moral coward, worth but little except as a critic and director of operations."[42] Lincoln felt the need of a critic and director of operations so he created, tentatively, such a position. Halleck was the first and last Chief-of-Staff for thirty-eight years. In 1903, the General Staff Act provided for the present military Chief-of-Staff to the President, thus endorsing Lincoln's idea.

To weigh the value of Major-General Halleck and his conduct in the War requires of the student an open mind, one free from prejudice. No one so far has thought it worth while. To the casual reader of the War's literature, his name leaves an unpleasant impression; in every book it is to be found, frequently and prominently, to explain military situations, but never with a word of praise for the man. Most writers in mentioning him add nothing personal; others, however, do not hesitate to express their sometimes even intemperate dislike.

Secretary of the Treasury Chase struck at both Lincoln and Halleck when he told Secretary Welles that "Halleck . . . was good for nothing and everybody knew it but the President."[43] Welles wrote in his diary during September, 1863, that:

> Halleck originates nothing, anticipates nothing; takes no responsibility, plans nothing, suggests nothing, is good for nothing. His being at headquarters is a national misfortune. In this whole summer's campaign I have been unable to see, hear, or obtain evidence of power, or will, or talent, or originality on the part of General Halleck. He has suggested nothing, decided nothing, done nothing but scold and smoke and scratch his elbows. Is it possible the energies of the nation should be wasted by the incapacity of such a man?[44]

An example of the unfortunate impression of Halleck made on students of Lincoln's generals is that of Clarence Edward Macartney:

> The strange thing is not that Lincoln should have chosen Halleck for commander-in-chief in the summer of 1862, for many of the best military minds and the sentiment of the people at large approved the choice. The strange thing is that after his incapacity had been so strikingly demonstrated Lincoln should have kept him in command and constantly deferred to his judgment. Originating nothing, taking no responsibility in times of danger or crisis, letting the burden rest on the shoulders of other men, afraid to make use of the powerful weapon that Lincoln had placed in his hands when he made him the supreme commander of the armies of the Union, Halleck is a contemptible, almost ridiculous figure. One would laugh at him, were it not for the fact that his incompetence was one of the chief factors in the repeated and tragic reverses which befell the Union armies. Selected by Lincoln and kept in power by Lincoln, Halleck did more injury to the cause of the North than any other man. "Good for nothing," as Chase put it, "and everybody knew it but Lincoln."[45]

Which, of course, was not wholly true. Halleck was probably the principal cause of Lincoln's contemporary reputation of being a poor chooser of men. But Halleck was much better than "good for nothing," and Lincoln knew it, even if everybody else did not. He was as well aware of Halleck's incapacities as he was of his capabilities, and doubtlessly considered him the very best man available for the particularly trying position for which he was intended. Generals that were better fighters than Halleck were sorely needed in the field.

One regrets that Halleck failed to write about himself and about President Lincoln, since he had both the time and the ability to do it. "When I ventured, one day," wrote Noah Brooks "to say to the President that Halleck was disliked because many people supposed that he was too timid and hesitating in his military conduct, Mr. Lincoln's face at once wore a sober, almost severe, expression as he said that he was Halleck's friend because nobody else was."[46] No general in the war was more pampered and tolerated by Lincoln than Halleck. No general saw more of Lincoln from the beginning to the end of Lincoln's four years in Washington than Halleck. He was one of the privileged few grouped about the dying President on that black emotional night when Stanton is reported to have said, "There lies the greatest executive the world has ever seen." Yet in all the vast literature of the War, Halleck, notable as an author, is never quoted as expressing a

reminiscence or a sentiment for or against or about Lincoln. Halleck left no memoirs nor was he ever asked to contribute to a printed memorial or published tribute to his chief.

The mystery in the story of General Halleck lies not so much in the fact that President Lincoln retained him in an exalted position, but rather it lies in the striking unlikeness of the General to his own former self. Halleck had been a brilliant theorist and an effectual man in practical affairs in California. Called into the war at the very useful age of 46, he became the "best hated" and most ineffectual high official in the army. In spite of his profound erudition in law, engineering and military science, he appears to all writers, and most contemporaries, to have been "a practical incompetent."[47] Why? Was it because of some mental or physical deterioration? Were the words "bloated, sallow-faced, watery-eyed, indolent, bewildered, uncertain, stupid, elbow-scratching, moral coward," unjustly applied because of his personal unpopularity? Or were those words descriptive? If this be so, then the suspicions of Attorney-General Bates may not have arisen from malicious gossip. "Today Isaac Newton told me, as a great secret, that General Halleck was a confirmed opium eater—as he is very credibly informed. That he is something bloated, and with watery-eyes, is apparent. But whether from brandy or opium I cannot tell."[48] This possibility, for good reasons, is highly improbable, and yet there remains the baffling contrast between Captain Henry Wager Halleck of San Francisco and Major-General Henry Halleck, A.M., LL.D. of Washington, D. C.

After the occupation of Richmond, Halleck was sent to that very difficult district on the James River, but, "If newspaper reports are to be relied upon his administration of affairs there did not give satisfaction."[49] After formal peace he was transferred to the Department of the Pacific where in his own words, he was happy to be back in his old home. San Francisco gave him no tumultuous welcome, but the harbor guns and a war vessel greeted his ship with a "thunderous salute" as it sailed through the Golden Gate, and General McDowell and Staff formally welcomed him at the Occidental Hotel.[50]

Four years later, in 1869, to make place for ailing General George Thomas, Halleck was transferred to the Department of the South. The *Alta California* predicted that he would resign rather than leave his beloved California. But Halleck said he would not resign until after he had worked out the difficult problem in the southern department.[51] The Associated Veterans of the Mexican War presented him with a "solid gold badge," and the *Alta* commented editorially on the marked ability with which he administered the affairs of his department, and that he was leaving California with "the confidence of the citizens" and the "cordial esteem of his subordinate officers."[52] Before three more years had passed, he suddenly died in Louisville, Kentucky, January 11, 1872, at the age of 57.[53] It was a real family tragedy for, though the

General had not known popular acclaim, he and his wife, Elizabeth Hamilton, had achieved domestic happiness.[54]

The reasons why the history of the War Between the States will always be of great interest are its deeply entangled origins, its great personalities, and that it was the last great war before the mechanization of the instruments of war, when generals rode in the saddle and flashed their swords. And throughout the maelstrom of that four-year drama, persists the amazing enigma of the profound, obtrusive, elbow-scratching, military adviser to President Lincoln. To say that Major-General Halleck is distinguished in the War's history only as Abraham Lincoln's most persistent blunder, is unfair to both. Rather, it can be safely said that a wise and very great man found him useful.

NOTES

1. Appleton's *Encyclopedia of American Biography,* New York, 1887, III, 48-51.
2. *Ibid; Dictionary of American Biography,* N. Y., 1928, VIII, 150-52.
3. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman,* N. Y., 1891, I, 44; Lewis, Lloyd, *Sherman: Fighting Prophet,* N. Y., 1932, p. 75.
4. Lieutenant Wise states that "the last named appointment was ably filled by Lieut. Halleck, of U. S. Engineers, who, from his military and scientific knowledge, was of the greatest assistance to the expedition." Wise, Lieut. [Henry A.], *Los Gringos,* New York, 1849, p. 146.
5. *Translation and Digest of Such Portions of the Mexican Laws of March 20th and May 23d, 1837, as are Supposed to be Still in Force and Adapted to the Present Condition of California; with an Introduction and Notes, by J. [H. W.] Halleck, Attorney at Law, and W. E. P. Hartnell, Government Translator,* San Francisco: Printed at the Office of the Alta California, 1849. Wagner, Henry R., *California Imprints,* Berkeley, California, 1922, p. 19.
6. 31st Congress, 1st Session, Ho. of Rep., Ex. Doc. No. 17, Message of the President of the United States Transmitting information in answer to a resolution of the House of the 31st of December, 1849, on the subject of California and New Mexico, pp. 118-33; 10,000 copies of Halleck's report were printed, February 6, 1850.
7. Halleck Collection in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; correspondence between Mr. Robert E. Cowan and Miss Anne Bancroft. Many Halleck documents were given to Mr. Cowan by Col. George W. Grannis, confidential secretary to the firm of Halleck, Peachy and Billings.
8. Willey, Rev. S. H., "Recollections of General Halleck," in *Overland Monthly,* Vol. IX, No. 1, July, 1872; 31st Cong., 1st Sess., H. R., Ex. Doc. No. 17, pp. 776-80. See also, Ellison, Joseph, "The Struggle for Civil Government in California, 1846-1850," Chapter III, in California Historical Society *Quarterly,* X, 129-64.
9. Willey, *op. cit.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Tri-weekly Alta California,* Jan. 14-Feb. 5, 1850.
12. Robert E. Cowan to Anne Bancroft, to both of whom the author is greatly indebted for their generous aid.
13. *Alta California,* Dec. 18, 1850.
14. Le Count & Strong's *San Francisco City Directory,* 1854, p. 190; see also, Shuck, Oscar T., *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific,* S. F., 1870, pp. 375-83.
15. *San Francisco City Directory,* 1856; Shuck, *Representative Men.*
16. Plat on file in Public Survey Office, San Francisco.
17. *Alta California,* April 24, 1873.
18. Cowan, *op. cit.*

19. *Journal of the Fourth Session of the Legislature of the State of California,* Jan.-May, 1853, p. 104.
20. Willey, *op. cit.*
21. Halleck had become engaged to Elizabeth Hamilton while on a visit East in 1854 and they were married on April 11, 1855, in New York City. Letters in the Cowan Collection, Bancroft Library. Halleck was 16 years older than his wife.
22. Halleck Street, however, is mentioned in advertizements in the *Alta Californias* of 1850, so Halleck was honored by the city for his services to the State prior to that date.
23. *Alta California,* April 11-22, 1861. The library was advertized as the largest and finest on the Pacific Coast, amounting to 3,000 volumes.
24. Land title business, in which Halleck excelled, had been greatly decreased, making Halleck a less valuable member of the firm.
25. A copy is in the library of the University of California at Berkeley.
26. *Alta California,* Sept. 18, 1861.
27. "Penograph" of General Halleck, *Alta California,* May 29, 1862.
28. Biography in *Men of the Time,* Dime Series, Beadle and Co., Sept., 1862.
29. Knight, *Hand-Book Almanac for the Pacific States . . . . for the year 1862,* S. F. 1862.
30. Sherman, *Memoirs,* I, 282.
31. Nicolay, John George, and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln: A History,* N. Y., 1890, V. 338.
32. *Dictionary of American Biography,* VIII, 150.
33. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* V, 356.
34. Letter dated Aug. 9, 1862; *Dict. of Amer. Biog., loc. cit.*
35. *McClelland's Own Story,* N. Y., 1887, p. 137.
36. Noah Brooks, special correspondent of the Sacramento *Union,* wrote that "ill natured people were ready to suggest that the rebels might be guilty of petty larceny if they stole Halleck from his home in Georgetown Heights." *Washington in Lincoln's Time,* New York, 1895, p. 175. Brooks gives a fairly decent description of Halleck: his "figure was tall and well proportioned, though somewhat inclined to portliness. His face was exceedingly grave and saturnine, his complexion sallow and dark, and his habitual bearing was that of a man sure of himself and distrustful of everybody else. But in the privacy of his own house he could relax to geniality; he liked a good story, and could tell one with gusto. Halleck was a close student of human nature, and while his smoothly shaven face was a complete mask for his own emotions and thoughts, his large dark penetrating eyes looked through one with searching thoroughness." *Ibid.,* pp. 35-36.
37. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VI, 215.
38. *Ibid.,* p. 216.
39. War Department General Order No. 98, March 21, 1864.
40. Brooks, *op. cit.,* pp. 139-40.
41. Riddle, Albert Gallatin, *Recollections of War Times, 1860-1865,* N. Y., 1895, p. 128.
42. *The Diary of Gideon Welles,* Boston & N. Y., 1911, I, 180.
43. *Ibid.,* I, 448.
44. *Ibid.,* I, 373.
45. Macartney, Clarence Edward, *Lincoln and His Generals,* Boston, 1925, p. 202.
46. Brooks, *op. cit.,* p. 140.
47. The Washington public soon formed the habit of disliking General Halleck and thinking of him as dull and stupid, or worse. Gideon Welles, in his *Diary,* vents his irritations on Halleck constantly, but in a quieter mood writes that "Lincoln's . . . . own convictions and conclusions are infinitely superior to Halleck's,—even in military operations more sensible and most correct always,—but yet he [Lincoln] says, 'It being strictly a military question, it is proper I should defer to Halleck, whom I have called here to counsel, advise, and direct in these matters, where he is an expert.' I question whether he should be considered an expert. I look upon Halleck as a pretty

good scholarly critic of other men's deeds and acts, but as incapable of originating or directing military operations." *Diary,* I, 364.

That was the generally accepted opinion of Halleck, so Lincoln, on the defensive, constantly sought to excuse and build him up. In the author's mind there is a growing suspicion that Halleck knowingly, or possibly even unknowingly, was President Lincoln's scapegoat. His position was one of responsibility without authority and a peculiarly trying one for a man of Halleck's ungenial personality. A better understanding of General Halleck may help explain many obscure spots in the history of the Civil War. He needs an unprejudiced deep student of that War. Only very recently there has come, from the East, the promise of such a biographical study.

48. *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866,* Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 293. Isaac Newton, appointed first U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture by Lincoln in 1862, was father of the Department of Agriculture, the Weather Bureau, and the Meteorological Service. *Dict. of Amer. Biog.,* XIII, 472-73. Hay fever explains, partly at least, the "watery eyes" that Bates, Welles, and others commented on. In a letter to General Sherman (Sept. 16, 1864) he wrote, "I have been suffering from my annual attack of 'coryza' or hay cold. It affects my eyes so much that I can scarcely see to write." Sherman, *Memoirs,* II, 116. Apparently, Halleck was handicapped also by some chronic organic source of ill health. He lived only seven years after the War, dying of "congestion of the brain, following a prolonged disorder of the liver." *Army and Navy Journal,* Jan. 13, 1872, p. 352.

49. *Alta California,* Aug. 26, 1865.

50. *Ibid.* A member of General Halleck's staff who arrived with him was Lieut. Col. R. M. Scott, son of the Rev. Dr. Scott of San Francisco whose effigy was burned because of his southern sympathies. The *Alta* did not fail to comment on the fact.

51. *Ibid.,* March 18, 1869.

52. *Ibid.,* June 9, 1869.

53. General and Mrs. Halleck and their 26-year-old son are buried in Green Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N. Y. Letter from W. E. Marsh, Elmwood, Conn.

54. *Encyclopedia Amer. Biog., loc. cit.* Dates and other biographical data without references in this list can be found in the *Encyclopedia* and the *Dictionary of American Biography,* Shuck's *Representative Men of the Pacific, The California Scrap Book,* and the *Army and Navy Journal,* Jan. 13, 1872.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE AUTHOR OF "THE FARTHEST WEST" LETTERS FROM CALIFORNIA, 1846

By John Adam Hussey

The Friend, a Honolulu missionary journal edited by Rev. S. C. Damon, known throughout the world as "Father Damon," first published the series of "Letters from California" written from Yerba Buena in June, 1846, and signed "The Farthest West." It has commonly been held that there were four of these letters, but an examination of their contents clearly reveals that the letter usually designated as number two and dated "Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, June, 1846," is in reality merely the latter part of number one, dated at the same place on June 10, 1846.[1] This view of the matter has been taken by Mr. Oscar Lewis, who edited the most recent printing of these important source materials.

The letters, dated "Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, June 10th, 1846"; "Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, June 24th, 1846"; and "Yerba Buena, San Francisco Bay, June 25th, 1846," with a postscript from "Sutter's Fort, June 29, 1846," appeared in the issues of *The Friend* for October 15, November 16, and December 1, 1846.[2] The letter of June 10, at least, was reprinted in the Honolulu *Sandwich Island News* for December 2, 1846;[3] and it is quite possible that all or part of the series was copied by other journals as was customary at the time. All of the letters were reprinted in *The Magazine of History,* Extra Number—No. 94 (XXIV, No. 2), Tarrytown, N. Y., 1923, and again in *California in 1846,* San Francisco, 1934, issued by the Grabhorn Press.

An editorial note prefaced to the first of the letters published in *The Friend* contains the information that the series was written for "one of the leading newspapers in New York."[4] How the documents came into the hands of Father Damon or whether they ever appeared in the press of the Atlantic seaboard the present writer is unable to state. The important fact, however, is that they were printed, and thus was rendered readily accessible what is certainly one of the best contemporary accounts of that controversial movement known as the Bear Flag Revolution.

The author of these letters, as is revealed by their contents and dating, was practically an eyewitness to the stirring events which agitated northern California in June, 1846. His account reflects the news, the rumors, and the alarms which flowed through the little village of Yerba Buena, a central point in the field of operations between the insurgents and the Californians. Furthermore,

the communications of "The Farthest West" show indisputable evidence of being the work of an educated and observant man. Not only do the letters reveal a remarkable familiarity with the actual events, but they are replete with generalizations, usually sound, about the revolt and about California politics and resources in general. There are, however, some errors in fact and quite a few strong expressions of opinion in the communications. In fact, some passages show a decided bias on the part of their writer. Therefore, in order to place the proper value upon the series as an historical source, it is essential to know something about the author. Up to the present time his identity has remained a mystery.[5]

The first clue as to who styled himself "The Farthest West" came when reading the letter of June 24. After a mention of the revolutionary flag, the unidentified writer describes it in the following terms: "What was it? you may ask—*a white field* with a *red border*, a *large star*, and a GRISLY BEAR. The star being the *'Union,'* with the Bear on his haunches, going at it!—such is the flag of *Young California!*"

The words had a familiar ring. A little search soon uncovered the following passage in a letter written by William A. Leidesdorff to Thomas O. Larkin from Yerba Buena on June 19, 1846: "I think the [spirited] 'Proclamation' will call many to thier [sic] 'Banner'—[What is that? you may ask.] which is A white 'field', with a red 'border', a large 'star' and a *Grisly Bear!* such is the flag of *Young California.*"[6]

The similarities between the two texts are so obvious as to preclude further comment. A more minute comparison of the two letters reveals other signs of relationship. The information contained in both of them, allowing for added news and slips of memory which would naturally result from the five days' passage of time between the writings of the communications, is essentially the same. Thus it would seem that the person who signed himself "The Farthest West" wrote, or at least read rather carefully, the Leidesdorff letter.

An examination of the original manuscript of Leidesdorff's message to Larkin brings out another interesting fact. The document bears Leidesdorff's signature, but the rest of the writing beyond all shadow of a doubt is not in his hand. Obviously some other person wrote the communication for him; and furthermore, the phraseology used by that person resembles to a remarkable degree that employed by "The Farthest West." Therefore, to determine who wrote the American Vice-Consul's letter might give some clue as to who penned the "Letters from California"; but as the handwriting had not yet been identified, the solution to the problem appeared no nearer than before.

Abandoning this approach for the time being, the "Letters from California" themselves were then examined to see if internal evidence would reveal something about their author. This task was not quite so simple as might have been expected, for "The Farthest West" seems to have taken

special pains not to let fall any information about his occupation or any companions whom he may have had.

The letter of June 10, 1846, opens with the words: "There are strange things in this world, happening every day, but none to me more so than that I should find myself in California, and writing a letter to be taken to you by the first overland express." Certainly the writer was a newcomer to California. Also, the sentence is hardly one which would be expected from a man whose occupation involved frequent journeys to the far corners of the earth; although in this case, the wording might be merely for rhetorical effect or to cover up the identity of the author.

"The Farthest West" then continues, saying, "A friend has kindly volunteered to put this into the hands of the gallant Capt. Frémont, who is now encamped on the Sacramento, and about to proceed direct to the U. S." Farther on he mentions, though not by name, Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie, then in Yerba Buena to get supplies for Frémont, and says "I have listened to his description of his journey in pursuit of the Captain, and the stirring incidents attending it." Here, clearly, was a man who had come into intimate contact with Gillespie during his hurried visit in quest of provisions. This fact would seem to indicate that "The Farthest West" was connected with or close to either the American Vice-Consulate at Yerba Buena or to the U. S. S. *Portsmouth,* then anchored in San Francisco Bay, for it was with these two agencies that the young Lieutenant of Marines dealt during his brief stay. He would have had little time to recount his experiences to strangers in Yerba Buena. Also, "The Farthest West" believed that Frémont was about to leave directly for the United States; he believed it enough to entrust the Captain with this letter for "one of the leading newspapers in New York."

From this same communication of June 10, it is also seen that its writer had visited Monterey but a short time before. He also comments at length on the politics, commerce, and resources of California. Some of his statistics and opinions as to the future of California are very nearly the same as those expressed by Thomas O. Larkin in his "Description of California," sent to United States Secretary of State James Buchanan in June, 1846,[7] and in other documents.

In one significant passage referring to the prices of goods, the unidentified author mentions "Lowell broadcloth, such as I can buy at home for $2 to $2.50 the yard"; and also states that "all necessaries of life are four, six and eight hundred per cent above prices in New York." These remarks indicate an interest in trade and a familiarity with business conditions in New York. Other allusions to maritime affairs and especially to the navigaton of the Columbia River lead one to believe that perhaps "The Farthest West" was a seafarer.

The second letter, that of July 24, 1846, is entirely concerned with the events of the Bear Flag Revolt. The information detailed therein reveals a probable familiarity on the part of its writer with two important contemporary documents, both inseparably connected with the U. S. S. *Portsmouth* and her officers. Facts about the capture of Sonoma, except for a few discrepancies in dates and figures which may be the fault of the writer's memory or of a type-setter, check quite well with those given in a letter directed by William B. Ide, from Sonoma, on June 15, 1846, to Commodore Stockton, but received by Commander John B. Montgomery of the *Portsmouth*.[8] The story of Lieutenant Missroon's visit to Sonoma coincides in all essentials with the official account of the mission prepared on board the naval vessel.[9] In fact, "The Farthest West" gives such intimate details of the visit that it appears very probable that he conversed with Lieutenant Missroon himself. The communication of June 24, therefore, would seem to indicate that its writer may have been an officer on the *Portsmouth*.

It is the letter of June 25, however, which contains the most definite clues. In it "The Farthest West" mentions an "excursion of three hundred miles on horseback" which he made "during six days in May." The postscript to this letter is dated from Sutter's Fort on June 29, 1846, and contains the revealing words, "I have an object on hand for to-day and a few days to come, which will keep me in the saddle."

From the dates, it can be readily seen that "The Farthest West" traveled from Yerba Buena to Sutter's Fort between the 25th and the 29th of June. "The New Helvetia Diary" indicates that the only party arriving at Sutter's between those dates which could have left San Francisco as late as the 25th was that of Lieutenant Washington Allon Bartlett and a Dr. Townsend, who reached the Fort on the 28th in one of the *Portsmouth's* boats.[10] Bartlett had left the anchorage at Yerba Buena seemingly on the 26th.[11] Captain John A. Sutter, on the very day upon which Bartlett arrived, wrote to Leidesdorff, saying that "all Communication between here and the bay is suspended, except the Man of War boats."[12] It is therefore quite evident that "The Farthest West" almost certainly traveled to Sutter's in Bartlett's launch.

As the names of the other occupants of the boat are unknown, Dr. Townsend and Lieutenant Bartlett are the only persons who can be investigated to see if they could have written the "Letters from California." The Dr. Townsend mentioned in "The New Helvetia Diary" was very probably John Townsend, a physician and a native of Virginia who had come overland to California in 1844. From 1846 to 1849, Dr. Townsend practiced medicine in San Francisco; he was also a friend of Sutter. Thus it is entirely possible that he could have made the trip to New Helvetia in June, 1846.[13]

If John Townsend was the Dr. Townsend who traveled with Bartlett, his name may be very quickly dismissed as a possible author of the "Letters from California." He was decidedly not a newcomer to California, was

neither a merchant nor a seafaring man, nor was he, as far as is known, familiar with trade conditions in New York. If he were not the Dr. Townsend in question, then Bartlett's companion remains unknown, and his mere name does not suffice to identify him as "The Farthest West."

Of the occupants of the boat who could have penned the letters, therefore, the only one about whom facts are readily available for investigation is Washington Allon Bartlett. Even a brief résumé of his record indicates that his character and experiences bear a remarkably striking resemblance to those of "The Farthest West" as revealed in the "Letters from California."

Bartlett was, like the author of the letters, a well-educated and experienced man. By his own testimony he was well versed in the French and Spanish languages, in political history, in commercial, admiralty, and international law, and in other subjects.[14] The Lieutenant was also a newcomer to California. He had arrived at Monterey on board the *Portsmouth* on April 22, 1846.[15] The ship remained anchored at this place until June 1, when sail was made for San Francisco. During the stay of over a month at Monterey, the ship's officers entertained themselves in various ways. Some of them took long trips on horseback into the interior of the country.[16] Thus it is entirely possible that Bartlett could have made the six-day excursion in May mentioned by "The Farthest West." He also had ample opportunity to become acquainted with Larkin and to investigate the politics and commerce of California. Furthermore, the Lieutenant was a resident of New York and had a lively interest in trade.[17] That he would have been interested in the prices of articles both in New York and in California is shown by the testimony of one of his fellow officers and by his own admission that he brought to sea "a stock of clothing, cloths, segars, &c., which were vended to his brother officers and others."[18]

As an officer of the *Portsmouth* while it was at anchor in the Bay of San Francisco, Bartlett would have had ample opportunity to hear Gillespie recount his adventures. He also would have had access to documents on board the vessel. In fact, Bartlett acted as interpreter in the interview between Commander Montgomery and M. G. Vallejo's messenger of June 15, 1846, whose visit occasioned the mission of Lieutenant Missroon. Lastly, it will be remembered that in the postscript from Sutter's Fort on June 29, "The Farthest West" stated, "I have an object on hand for to-day and a few days to come, which will keep me in the saddle." "The New Helvetia Diary" reveals that upon that very day, Bartlett set out overland for Sonoma in company with John Bidwell.[19]

The striking agreement between the facts of Bartlett's career and the deductions about "The Farthest West" is readily apparent. Another link in the chain of evidence brings the conclusion still nearer. A number of original letters, written by Bartlett and signed by him, are to be found in the Bancroft Library and in the Henry E. Huntington Library. When samples of

Bartlett's handwriting are compared with Leidesdorff's message to Larkin of June 19, 1846, there is not the slightest room for doubt that Bartlett was Leidesdorff's amanuensis on this occasion. To clinch the matter still further, Bartlett's letters reveal a persistent tendency on the part of their author to spell "their" as "thier."[20] This same misspelling occurs in the letter of June 19.

Thus Bartlett's life and character show that he was in a position to have written the "Letters from California," and he is known to have written a letter whose phraseology bears unmistakable signs of resemblance to that in "The Farthest West's" letter of June 24, 1846. There remains but one more bit of evidence to gather in order to identify Bartlett beyond reasonable doubt as "The Farthest West," and that is to demonstrate that he was in communication with the editor of "one of the leading newspapers in New York."

On July 30, 1846, Bartlett wrote from the *Portsmouth* to Edward M. Kern, one of Frémont's men at that time in command of Sutter's Fort. Among other things, he asked Kern to "Please send me by the first opportunity the letter (in the package for the U. S.) addressed to Genl. Morris—or Messrs Morris, Willis, and Fuller."[21] A little investigation quickly reveals that George Pope Morris, in association with Nathaniel P. Willis, was editing a New York daily paper known as the *Evening Mirror,* in 1846.[22] What is more, Pope, Willis, and Hiram Fuller were partners in the publishing business at least as late as 1845.[23]

It is evident that Bartlett had written a letter to Morris and forwarded it to Frémont for transportation to the United States.[24] When it became apparent to him that the Captain would not be going East soon, he asked that the letter be returned to him. In all probability the communication was then sent by water. "The Farthest West" also entrusted at least one letter to Frémont, and it likewise must have been recalled and mailed, with the two others, by water. For some reason, at present unknown, they reached the Hawaiian Islands and were there published.

The evidence which links Lieutenant Bartlett with the writer of the "Letters from California" is seemingly too conclusive to be the result of mere accident. There is absolutely nothing in the communications which would indicate that Bartlett could not have written them. On the other hand, the indications that he did write them are many and striking. Of course, the evidence is purely circumstantial, but it is so nearly complete that there is little room to doubt that if the original manuscript "Letters from California" are ever located, they will be found to be in the handwriting of Washington Allon Bartlett.

NOTES

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, in Vol. V of his *History of California,* San Francisco, 1886, p. 188, notes "four *Letters from California,* signed 'The Farthest West' written in June 1846 from Yerba Buena, intended for a New York paper, but originally published

in the *Honolulu Friend,* Oct. 15-Dec. 1, 1846." The letters were also printed as four separate communications in *The Magazine of History,* Extra Number—No. 94 (XXIV, No. 2), pp. [3]-26.

2. Lewis, Oscar, ed., *California in 1846,* San Francisco, 1934, p. iii.

3. Royce, Josiah, *California,* Boston and New York, 1886, p. 106.

4. Lewis, *op. cit.,* p. iii.

5. "The identity of the writer of the letters is not known," *ibid,* p. iii; "a series of letters written by an unknown correspondent of 'The Friend,'" *The Magazine of History,* Extra Number—No. 94, p. [3].

6. William A. Leidesdorff to Thomas O. Larkin, Yerba Buena, June 19, 1846. Larkin, Documents for the History of California, MS, IV, 167; in the Bancroft Library. The words "spirited" and "What is that? you may ask," included in the text in brackets, in the original have been crossed out and the words "which is" inserted in a different ink and in a handwriting which is probably Larkin's. There are several contemporary copies of this letter. One is in Mr. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Documents, in the library of the California Historical Society. The original letter or copies of it were evidently shown by Larkin to various persons, and the description of the Bear Flag has found its way into other letters almost word for word, notably in that from William Mervine to John D. Sloat, Monterey Bay, July 1, 1846. Sloat Documents, MS. (Printed in the California Historical Society *Quarterly,* VI, 368-70.)

7. Larkin, Thomas O., Official Correspondence, MS, II, 94-116; in the Bancroft Library.

8. William B. Ide to "Commodore Stockton," Sonoma, June 15, 1846. Sloat Documents, MS. This letter has been printed in the California Historical Society *Quarterly,* I, 82-83.

9. For this account see the Papers on the Bear Flag, MS, pp. 46-57; in the Bancroft Library. It is also to be found in the Sloat Documents, MS, and printed in the California Historical Society *Quarterly,* I, 79-81, 85-90.

10. New Helvetia Diary, MS, p. 54; in the Bancroft Library.

11. John B. Montgomery to John C. Frémont, Yerba Buena, June 26, 1846. Sloat Documents, MS. This letter has been printed in the California Historical Society *Quarterly,* VI, 279-80; and in John C. Frémont's *Memoirs,* Chicago and New York, 1887, I, 527.

12. J. A. Sutter to William A. Leidesdorff, New Helvetia, June 28, 1846. Leidesdorff Papers, MS, LE 155; in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

13. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of California,* V, 751.

14. United States, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Senate, *Reports of the Committees,* No. 237, Washington, 1856, p. 32.

15. Thomas O. Larkin to William A. Leidesdorff, Monterey, April 23, 1846, Leidesdorff Papers, MS, LE 125; in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

16. Revere, Joseph Warren, *A Tour of Duty in California.* New York, 1849, pp. 41-45.

17. United States, 34th Congress, 1st Session, Senate, *Reports of the Committees,* No. 237, Washington, 1856, p. 30.

18. *Ibid,* Appendix, p. 7.

19. New Helvetia Diary, MS, p. 54.

20. For example, see Bartlett's translation of Pio Pico's Proclamation of June 23, 1846, in the Papers on the Bear Flag, MS, pp. 22-24.

21. Washington A. Bartlett to Edward M. Kern, U. S. Ship *Portsmouth,* July 30, 1846. The Fort Sutter Papers, MS, No. 25; in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

22. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XIII, New York, 1934, 207-8.

23. Mott, Frank Luther, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850,* New York, 1930, p. 320.

24. Incidently, this action on the part of Bartlett is one of the bits of evidence which prove that the officers of the *Portsmouth* believed, on June 10, 1846, that Frémont intended to return at once to the United States and that they had no intimation of any forthcoming filibustering actions on the part of the Captain.

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO
and
SONOMA

A Biography and a History

By George Tays

Chapter IV

A MILITARY CAREER BEGINS

Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo began his military career in the Monterey Company, on January 8, 1824. It is almost impossible to trace his activities during his three years of service as a cadet. His training was the same as that of any other youth who chose the army for a career. He was assigned to the cavalry, and in that branch served his apprenticeship as a private, doing the regular routine duties of his rank, mounting guard, going on an occasional expedition, drilling, and no doubt studying the manual of the soldier and military tactics.

The following year, 1825, he was promoted to the rank of corporal, and began to learn to command a squad of men. He studied the duties of the noncommissioned officer, kept the company books, and performed other military tasks.[1]

During his third year, 1826, he received his sergeant's stripes, and had command of a platoon. He began to assume more responsibility and to discharge duties of some importance. Now, besides going on expeditions, he commanded the guard, did most of the company paper work and helped to keep its accounts.[2]

Vallejo was an apt student, learned quickly, and had a great liking for the discipline, authority, and activities of military life. Consequently, his promotion was rapid, and after serving a little more than a year as sergeant, on July 30, 1827, just a week before his nineteenth birthday, he was appointed an ensign. Although he deserved the promotion, he might not have been advanced so soon had it not been for a piece of good fortune. Santiago Argüello, who was filling the post of ensign of the San Francisco Company at that time, had been attached to the San Diego Company for over a year, and was absent in the south. In the spring of 1827, he was permanently transferred to the San Diego Presidio, and a vacancy thus occurred in the San Francisco Company. Mariano Vallejo, having completed his training, was immediately commissioned to fill the vacancy. The new Ensign, however, did not go to San Francisco until 1830, for his services were required in Monterey.[3]

SEÑORA FRANCISCA BENICIA CARRILLO VALLEJO

(Wife of General Vallejo)

From a painting in the possession of Mrs. Charles D. McGettigan (Francisca Vallejo).

Early in 1827, Governor José M. Echeandia called the Territorial Assembly to convene in June. Elections were held in which seven regular members of the Assembly and three alternates were selected. The session was held in Monterey on June 14, 1827, but after the first meeting, most of the members left to attend to other business elsewhere. Consequently the Assembly was unable to carry on its business for lack of a quorum. After several weeks, the two remaining members, Mariano Estrada and Antonio Buelna, with the aid of the Monterey Ayuntamiento selected five provisional members for the Assembly. Among the five young men who lived near Monterey and could attend the meetings was Mariano G. Vallejo, who was sworn in on September 19, 1827. Thus, two months after his nineteenth birthday, he was launched on his political career, almost simultaneously with his service as a commissioned officer.[4]

At that time Governor Echeandia visited Monterey to preside over the meetings of the legislature, which he proceeded to dominate, for he was a mature man while most of the members were mere boys. Estrada and Buelna were mature men, but Francisco Pacheco, Estévan Munras, and José Rocha were only in their twenties, while Vallejo, Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro were nineteen, eighteen and seventeen years old, respectively. Alvarado served as secretary.

During September and October, 1827, Vallejo was engaged in legislative work, which dealt mainly with the regulation of commerce, the financing of the government, and especially with the collection and administration of the revenues by José Maria Herrera, the collector of customs, who was entirely independent of the Governor's authority. This fact led to a bitter controversy between the Governor and Herrera which lasted for months, and in which Vallejo and other officials became involved.[5]

Another subject acted upon by the legislature at that session was a proposal to change the name of California to that of Moctezuma, and that of Los Angeles to Villa Victoria de la Reina de Los Angeles, to distinguish it from Puebla de Los Angeles in Mexico. They also adopted a coat of arms for California, consisting of an Indian with plume, bow, and quiver, in the act of crossing a strait, all on an oval field with an olive and oak on the border, in memory of the peopling of the Americas by way of the Strait of Anian, according to tradition. The resolution was passed with little argument and sent to Mexico for approval. Fortunately for California, that government was too busy with other more serious matters to consider these proposals. Thus, they found a quiet and dusty grave on a shelf in the Mexican archives. It is to be deplored that Vallejo, who loved California so much, should have approved such ill-considered propositions.[6]

After the legislature adjourned, Vallejo spent the remainder of the year 1827 in discharging the routine duties of his post. During the early months of 1828, all was quiet politically in California. Governor Echeandia returned

to San Diego in March, 1828, and on April 10, 1828, summoned the legislature to meet there. But Vallejo, having been only a temporary member, stayed in Monterey looking after the affairs of his company.[7]

Meanwhile, Governor Echeandia transferred Captain Miguel Gonzalez, commander at Monterey, to the Santa Barbara Presidio, and Mariano Estrada became company commander at Monterey.

Late in 1827, Echeandia began the old quarrel with Herrera again, which finally led to Herrera's resignation as treasurer after weeks of controversy. On September 26, 1827, he turned the office over to Lieutenant Estrada, who held that position until early in 1828, when he surrendered it to Ensign Vallejo.[8] At that time also, and until November, 1828, Vallejo served as paymaster of the Monterey Company. In November, Echeandia appointed Ensign Manual Jimeno Casarin as paymaster to relieve Vallejo.

When the legislature met in San Diego in October, 1828, Lieutenant Estrada, as one of its members, went south. On his departure, the twenty-year-old Ensign Vallejo became acting commandant of Monterey, besides discharging his regular duties as paymaster. All went well until the evening of October 8, 1828, when he found himself confronted with a mutiny of a part of the garrison. Due to the depleted state of the territorial treasury, the soldiers had not received their full pay for most of 1828. Led by José de Jesus Pico and Pablo Véjar, a large part of the cavalry detachment at Monterey appeared before Vallejo and informed him that they would render no further service until paid in full. He tried to reason with them, said that the treasury was empty, pointed out the enormity of their crime of mutiny, and asked them to return to duty. The soldiers refused to listen, and took their horses and arms and rode off to the Salinas Valley. There they were joined by detachments from Missions San Juan Bautista, San Miguel, and San Luis Obispo, at a camp called *Sausal,* or Willow Grove, near the Salinas River.

Ensign Vallejo at once notified Governor Echeandia of the state of affairs, and Lieutenant Romualdo Pacheco, who had recently arrived in Monterey, decided to meet and parley with the mutineers. With a platoon of artillery troops he visited the rebels' camp and engaged the soldiers in conversation. Finding them without any definite plans and without a forceful leader, Pacheco tried a trick on them. While he continued to talk, he suddenly raised his voice and cried: "Company fall in!" Whereupon the rebels automatically obeyed and formed their ranks. Before the men had time to think, he gave another command, "Right wheel! March!" As the cavalrymen executed the movement, Pacheco placed himself at the head and marched them back to their barracks in Monterey.[9]

Once back at the post, the men were disarmed and the leaders locked in jail to await trial. Some days later Echeandia wrote to Vallejo instructing him to try the rebels, but if he could not master them to offer them a par-

don.[10] They were tried and found guilty, but their case had to go to Mexico for review, so they were in the Monterey jail for over a year while awaiting their fate. During the trial and later, Vallejo and Alvarado blamed José Maria Herrera for the mutiny, although there was no evidence to justify their claim. The men all testified that it was due entirely to their state of destitution, and the want of clothing and food, since they had not been paid for months. There was no political significance to the affair.[11]

For the remainder of the year 1828, Vallejo continued as commander at Monterey, and on Estrada's return from the south early in 1829, he resumed his regular duties as ensign of the company. For the first half of 1829, the discontent among the troops continued, still due to the same destitution resulting from non-receipt of pay and rations. There were rumors that a revolt would start in June, backed by Herrera and some of the friars who wished to overthrow Echeandia. On June 18, 1829, two soldiers told Ensign José Fernandez del Campo of a plot to revolt against the Governor, to be led on June 22 by Joaquin Solis, a convict at Monterey. The plot caused no surprise, and after an investigation the matter was dropped, especially since the Indians about Mission San José and the San Joaquin Valley had begun again to make trouble.[12]

In November, 1826, Ensign José Sanchez had led into the San Joaquin Valley an expedition which had destroyed a rancheria, killed some forty Indians and captured many more, but retired without decisively defeating the tribes.[13]

At that time there was a neophyte at Mission San José of more than ordinary ability, named Estanislao. Father Durán had taught him and had made him alcalde. Sometime late in 1827, he ran away and joined a marauding band of ex-neophytes and pagans, who had their refuge in the San Joaquin Valley. As the leader of this band, along with his associate Cipriano, Estanislao soon made himself famous for his daring raids. Late in 1828 and in early 1829, he and his band raided Mission San José. Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez sent a company of twenty men from San Francisco against him, late in November, but this accomplished nothing. Meanwhile, Estanislao continued his onslaughts and insulting challenges to the soldiers.

Then on May 5, 1829, Ensign José Sanchez started from San Francisco with some forty men and a swivel-gun. At San José he recruited many white and Indian volunteers. This company found the savages camped in a thick wood on the banks of the Lasquisimes [Stanislaus] River. The Indians opened the battle, which lasted all day without advantage to either side, and at sunset Sanchez withdrew. The next morning the soldiers attacked from all sides in groups of six men. At the end of that day, finding his ammunition and men exhausted, Sanchez abandoned the siege and left Estanislao unconquered. In this battle he lost two soldiers, eight were wounded, and eleven Indian volunteers had been injured. The enemy losses were not known.[14]

Lieutenant Martinez considered the result of the expedition a failure, so another company was organized, commanded by Ensign M. G. Vallejo, assisted by Sanchez. At that time Vallejo had had little experience as an Indian fighter. In 1828 he had led an expedition from Mission San Miguel to the Sierra Madre, and later another into the Tulares, in which he lost one man and had fifteen wounded. Then in 1829, just before Sanchez made his expedition, Vallejo returned to Monterey from a campaign to the Tulares, in which his army of thirty-five men had suffered no casualties, but had slain forty-eight Indians.[15]

On May 16, 1829, Lieutenant Martinez sent instructions to Vallejo, informing him of the depredations committed by the Indians and of their insulting attitude towards the troops sent against them. The order closed as follows:

> In view of the reenforcements of the three arms of the service sent to me by the Commander of Monterey, and now having a sufficient number of troops on hand and two light field pieces; you will march to *Los Rios* with all the troops of your command. You will be commander-in-chief of the expedition, with Ensign José Sanchez as second in command, and you will give the rebel Christian Indians a complete rout and thoroughly frighten and cow the wild ones that help them. Finally, you and Don José Sanchez will act as your practical knowledge deems best in all matters, and pay them back with as much damage as they have caused.[16]

Several days later Vallejo set out from Monterey with his thirty-five men and was joined at San José by Ensign Sanchez with the San Francisco troops. About May 24, Vallejo's army, 107 strong, marched from San José to the San Joaquin Valley. On May 29, the troops crossed the San Joaquin River on rafts, and the next day arrived at the scene of the former battle. The Indians were still there and the fight was on. A cloud of arrows greeted the soldiers as they approached the woods. The forest was found to be quite impenetrable, so Vallejo had it set on fire at once. He stationed his men and his artillery on the opposite bank of the river, and as the Indians were driven to the edge of the thicket by the fire, some of them were killed. At 5:00 P. M., Sanchez was sent with twenty-five men to attack the foe, and the battle raged for over two hours in the burning wood, until dusk, when he retired with three men wounded.

The next morning at nine o'clock, Vallejo entered the forest with thirty-seven men, and found that the Indians had fled during the night. He also found a series of pits and ditches arranged very skilfully and protected by barricades of logs and brush. It was evident that fire was the only thing that could have dislodged the defenders from such a stronghold. Vallejo and his men started in pursuit, and that evening camped at the Lasquisimes [Stanislaus] River. The next day, May 31, they surrounded part of the fugitives in another thicket on the Arroyo Seco. Peace negotiations were begun, but the Indians refused to surrender, stating that they would rather die. Finding that he could not persuade the savages, Vallejo ordered the battle resumed

late that afternoon, and the thicket was set on fire. The enemy began a slow retreat during which they wounded eight soldiers. The artillery ammunition was exhausted, and the fire was so hot that Vallejo's troops were forced to retire to a distance. That night, under cover of darkness, the Indians tried to escape one by one. Vallejo had the place surrounded and many savages were killed, but some made good their escape. By the next morning the supplies had become exhausted, so on June 1, the expedition began its return to San José, where it arrived on June 4, 1829.[17]

From there Vallejo sent a detailed report to Martinez, who on June 5 congratulated Vallejo, Sanchez and the volunteers for having restored the army's prestige, but expressed regret that the Indians had not suffered a complete rout. Then he called Vallejo to San Francisco for a conference, to map the next campaign.[18]

Vallejo was severely criticised by Father Durán and others for excessive cruelty in having several Indians, including three women, shot after the battle. They demanded his punishment, but after an investigation he was exonerated.[19]

On his return to Monterey, Vallejo found much discontent among the troops. It was the same old story of destitution, arrears of pay and rations, and total neglect by the Government, that gave the soldiers cause for revolt.

Thus on the night of November 12-13, 1829, the garrison at Monterey rose in arms and took possession of the Presidio. Mariano Vallejo was acting commandant at the time, and had already retired for the night. The ringleaders of the uprising were Mariano Pegura, Andrés Leon, Pablo Véjar, and the brothers Raimundo and Gabriel de la Torre. There was no opposition to the mutiny at any of the barracks, but most of the infantrymen were allowed to remain neutral when they surrendered their arms. Then armed details of four or five men were sent to arrest the officers at their respective quarters.

That night, Juan B. Alvarado and José Castro happened to be guests at Vallejo's house, and all were sound asleep. Suddenly Vallejo was awakened by a loud knocking at the door. He remained silent for a moment, then asked who it was. A voice outside said he was Estévan Espinosa, and that he was on very important business. Vallejo opened the window and looked out. There stood Espinosa, who said that the mail from the south had just arrived and that the carrier had brought important despatches. As Vallejo was also the postmaster, Espinosa had brought the pouch and asked Vallejo to open the door so that he could deliver it. Furthermore, there were other things that demanded Vallejo's attention, and he must dress and go to the post. Mariano was somewhat suspicious by that time, but since Espinosa had brought the mail pouch to his house a number of times before, he finally decided to open the door. He had no sooner removed the latch than the door was pushed open violently, and in rushed Raimundo de la Torre, Véjar, Leon, Dolores, Gàrcia, and Espinosa, fully armed.

Vallejo was in his night clothes. He was ordered to dress quickly. Alvarado and Castro, who had been sleeping throughout the affair, were rudely awakened from their sound slumbers and also placed under arrest. Before they were fully dressed, the three were marched off to the cavalry barracks with their clothes still in their hands. This party had scarcely reached its destination and locked up its prisoners, when another detail arrived with Ensign Juan José Rocha as a prisoner. A few moments later in came another group with Sergeant Andrés Cervantes under arrest. Then a fourth party arrived with Quartermaster Manuel Jimeno Casarin.

When all the officers had been assembled, they were taken to the jail, where they were unceremoniously cast into one of the darkest and dirtiest cells along with the worst criminals. At that moment, convict Joaquin Solis appeared as the leader of the revolt and ordered all of the prisoners, including the soldiers implicated in the 1828 mutiny, set free. Some of the convicts did not even tarry to dress, but, seizing their clothing, ran out into the street, saying that they would take no chances, lest their deliverers change their minds before they finished dressing in the jail and lock them up again. When the prison had been emptied of its criminals, the officers were left there in solitary confinement, while the rebels debated whether to shoot them or set them free on parole.

When Monterey was fully under his control, Solis removed the officers from the prison and locked them in a warehouse. A short time after that, David Spence and several other foreigners interceded with Solis on behalf of the captive officers. The rebels agreed to set them free if they would take no further part in the revolt. Vallejo and Rocha, however, were not allowed to remain in Monterey, but were placed aboard the *Brookline* and sent to San Diego.[20]

Vallejo's voyage south was a fateful affair, for it changed completely the course of his life. A few days after landing in San Diego, on January 24, 1830, he met for the first time the young, charming, and beautiful Francisca Benicia Carrillo, daughter of Don Joaquin Carrillo.[21] Romance was in the air, and it was a case of love at first sight for the young couple. Although Vallejo stayed in San Diego only a few weeks, he made good use of his time while there and won the heart and consent of the object of his affections.

Returning to Monterey late in February, 1830, Vallejo was called upon to serve on a court to try Father Luis Antonio Martinez, of Mission San Luis Obispo, for conspiracy in the Solis revolt.[22] Father Martinez had been arrested early in February, and the court met in Santa Barbara on March 9, 1830, for the trial. It was composed of Captain Agustin V. Zamorano, as President; Lieutenants M. G. Lobato, and Juan Maria Ibarra; and Ensigns Juan José Rocha, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and Domingo Carrillo. Echeandia wanted the Friar banished, because he was too outspoken in politics; so after considering the evidence, which was very weak, the

court voted five to one for his conviction. Vallejo was one of the five. Father Martinez was then exiled from Mexican territory by the first vessel available. Captain Stephen Anderson took the missionary aboard his ship, the *Thomas Nowlan*, and carried him to Callao, Peru. According to Vallejo, he was the officer detailed to escort Father Martinez aboard the vessel.[23]

Soon after that trial, Ensign Vallejo returned to Monterey. Then in April, 1830, he was ordered to join his company at San Francisco. For the first time, Vallejo now went to serve at that post. Soon after his arrival, he was assigned to the duties of *habilitado*, or paymaster, which he performed until the end of 1830.[24]

In October, 1830, Mariano Vallejo was named as a candidate for the territorial legislature, and went to Monterey for the election. While there, on October 15, 1830, he addressed the following petition to the President of Mexico, requesting permission to marry:

Most Excellent Sir:

Citizen Mariano G. Vallejo, Ensign of the regular Company of the Port of San Francisco, greets Your Excellency most respectfully, stating that he is 23 years of age, as is attested by his baptismal certificate, which he attaches marked as No. 1, and has pledged his troth with Doña Francisca Carrillo, single, 15 years old, as is attested by her baptismal certificate, marked as No. 2, the legitimate daughter of Don Joaquin Carrillo and Doña Maria Ignacia Lopez, of honorable parentage, as is shown by the judicial certificate marked No. 3, herein attached. The suppliant, as well as his betrothed, having the consent of their respective parents, as attested by documents Nos. 4 and 5, herein also enclosed, beg Your Excellency to be pleased to grant the necessary permission to contract their matrimony, a favor which they hope to receive from Your Excellency.

MARIANO G. VALLEJO[25]

Monterey, October 15, 1830.

This petition, which was of such vital importance to the young couple, had to be sent to Mexico and to make several journeys back and forth before the favorable reply was received by Vallejo in 1832.

Late in October, 1830, Don Mariano was elected as deputy to the legislature, to serve during the year 1831. Then on January 29, 1831, Governor Echeandia, who was about to retire at the arrival of the new Governor, Manuel Victoria, summoned the legislature to meet at Monterey. Vallejo returned to the capital in answer to the summons, but when he arrived he found that Governor Victoria had already taken office and had proclaimed that for the time being he would not need the legislature in session.[26]

Vallejo went back to San Francisco in February, 1831, to resume his company duties and to await the summons to a regular session. This ordinarily took place on March 1, but that year Victoria refused to issue the call, much to the indignation of the members, who for that session were: Pio Pico, chairman; M. G. Vallejo, A. M. Osio, J. J. Ortega, Santiago Argüello, J. T. Castro, and J. B. Alvarado, secretary.[27]

Seeing that Victoria did not intend to call the legislature, Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, and Castro went to San Francisco. From there they began a campaign to force Victoria to summon it. In February and early March, the four conspirators enlisted the influence of the Monterey and San Jose ayuntamientos to put pressure upon the Governor. Both municipal bodies petitioned Victoria to convene the legislature, but he curtly replied that they should attend to their municipal affairs and refrain from meddling in matters which did not concern them.[28]

While the quarrel with the legislature was on, there were other matters in which Victoria's actions angered the Californians. In these acts Vallejo also took part. The first had to do with the conviction and execution of a young Indian named Atanacio who had stolen 200 pesos worth of goods from a warehouse in 1830. The court condemned him to death on April 18, 1831, and Victoria had him executed April 26, 1831. Immediately Vallejo, Alvarado and others accused the Governor of being a tyrant.

On May 28, 1831, Victoria ordered the execution of two convicted robbers, Simon Aguilar from Mexico, and Eduardo Sagarra of Lima, Peru, who had been sentenced early in May. Once more Vallejo and others called Victoria a monster.

The most celebrated case of all, however, was that of the soldier Francisco Rubio, which dated from 1828. He was arrested on August 15, 1828, for the attack and murder of the five-year-old daughter and infant son of Ignacio Olivas, in their beds, at San Francisco. The case dragged on for three years, until Victoria came and ordered it reopened. He offered the post of prosecutor to Vallejo, who refused it, and José Maria Padrés was appointed. Vallejo then became the attorney for the defense. The trial began in May, and by July Rubio had been convicted. He was sentenced to death and executed at 11:30 A. M., August 1, 1831. Vallejo and other Californians branded the execution as judicial murder and Governor Victoria a bloodthirsty villain.[29]

Meanwhile the controversy between the Governor and the legislature went on. July 30, 1831, Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, and Castro petitioned the Governor from San Francisco, to summon the legislature, but he refused. After waiting for several weeks, Vallejo and the others again addressed the Governor on September 11, 1831. They stated that the time for the regular session had long since passed and the legislature had not been called. It was urgently necessary that it be convened so that it might carry on its business and fulfill its legal duties. They, as members, knowing their duty and responsibility, urged its meeting, since they were sure that the National Congress had not altered the system of government.[30]

Governor Victoria refused to reply to the petition, so Vallejo and the others reported Victoria's actions to the Government in Mexico on September 18, 1831, and begged redress and Victoria's recall.[31]

Just at that time Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez retired as commander at San Francisco, and Vallejo as the ranking officer assumed command of that post, late in September, 1831. From then on he was in a better position to act against Victoria.[32]

Seeing that they could not prevail upon Governor Victoria to do their bidding, and that their appeals to the Mexican Government would take too long to bear fruit, Vallejo and the other deputies got in touch with Pio Pico, Juan Bandini, and other southern members of the assembly, as well as with former Governor Echeandia, who still lingered in San Diego, and began to plot a revolution against Governor Victoria. While carrying out their plans, on November 7, 1831, Vallejo and his three colleagues addressed another long petition to the National Government, making further charges against the Governor.[33]

The revolutionary plotting had begun as early as April, 1831, and had gained in intensity as the year drew to a close, with Vallejo and José M. Padrés as the chief conspirators in San Francisco. The scheme finally reached its climax late in November, 1831. In September, by order of Governor Victoria, Abel Stearns and José A. Carrillo, the chief plotters in Los Angeles, were banished from California, followed in November by José M. Padrés.

Stearns and Carrillo returned to San Diego late in November, and joined Echeandia, Pico, and others in bringing about the revolt which broke out in San Diego on the night of November 29, 1831. The story of the revolution has no place here; suffice it to say that Governor Victoria was overthrown and deported from California in January, 1832.[34]

In plotting against his superior officer, Governor Victoria, Vallejo was guilty of treason to the Mexican Government, in whose army he was an officer. According to army regulations he was subject to trial and might be punished by death. As a member of the legislature he had a right to oppose Victoria's civil policies, but even in that capacity he had no right to plot rebellion. In any case, if he intended to oppose the Governor he should have resigned his commission, because his first oath was to the military authority, and that precluded any action whatever on his part against his superiors. Vallejo had a difficult choice to make, and he chose treason to Mexico and loyalty to what he supposed were California's best interests.

As soon as Echeandia took over the government again, he sent letters to all the local authorities and army officers asking them to join the revolution. A number in northern California refused, but Vallejo and José Sanchez in San Francisco accepted. At the same time, December 9, 1831, Echeandia summoned the legislature to convene at Los Angeles.[35]

When the copy of Echeandia's plan of San Diego arrived in San Francisco on December 19, 1831, Vallejo, Sanchez, and Lázaro Peña signed it at once. That same day Vallejo replied to Echeandia pledging the San Francisco garrison to support the revolution.[36]

Vallejo transferred the command of the Presidio to Sanchez, and departed for Los Angeles at the close of the year to attend the session of the legislature. The opening date had been set between January 1 and 4, but when he arrived in Los Angeles on the 5th, he found that it had been postponed to a later date.

The legislature finally met on January 10, 1832. The next day Vallejo and Santiago Argüello were appointed a committee to draw up a formal case against Governor Victoria, to be presented to the Mexican Government. When that business was settled, Vallejo proposed a motion that Pio Pico as senior member should be appointed temporary civil governor. The motion was carried.[37]

Daily meetings continued until January 18, when the legislature suspended its session until such time as Echeandia should arrive from San Diego to attend the meetings. At this time Vallejo decided that he would like to mix a little pleasure with public affairs. Two years had passed since he had parted from his beautiful little sweetheart, Francisca Carrillo, in San Diego, and he longed for the sight of his beloved. Therefore, on January 17, he proposed a resolution granting him a ten-day leave of absence from the legislature in which to visit San Diego. After some discussion, the request was granted.[38] It was rather an odd request to make in a legislature which was supposed to be considering revolutionary doctrines and high affairs of state. But it was spring in southern California, and young love was not to be denied. All the members of that august body were men in their thirties and twenties. They sympathized with the young couple. It is quite probable that they slapped Mariano on the back and sent him on his way with a "Go to it, old fellow, and the best of luck!"

Vallejo departed for San Diego on January 18, where he enjoyed his leave in the company of his destined bride, and then returned to his duties. Since Echeandia did not arrive, the deputies finally lost patience, and the legislature resumed its meetings on January 26. Don Mariano had returned from San Diego just in time to propose that the oath of office should be administered to Pio Pico as provisional governor without further delay, regardless of Echeandia's absence. The motion was carried, and Pico was sworn into office on January 27, 1832, at twelve o'clock noon. The ceremony took place with all due solemnity, and Vallejo as the ranking member administered the oath.

Echeandia then entered into a controversy with Pico over the governorship, but the legislature continued to meet until February 17. On that day, Vallejo and Argüello presented the house with the case against Victoria, fully documented. The legislature then passed a resolution approving it and ordering it sent to Mexico. At the same time the controversy with Echeandia had reached such a critical stage that a motion was proposed and passed that the house should adjourn indefinitely. Thus on February 17, 1832, the activities of the legislature came to an end for the time being.[39]

Young Mariano finding himself free from his legislative burdens and duties, hastened again to San Diego to resume a much more pleasant duty: that of making love to a beautiful girl. Seventeen long months had passed since he had requested permission to marry. After seeing their documents travel back and forth from California to Mexico, it seemed to the impatient lovers that the request would never be granted, since other applicants had been refused similar permission.

Don Mariano had traveled on his way as far as San Juan Capistrano, when the postman delivered a letter to him. In it he found the coveted permission. With a whoop of joy, the light-hearted Vallejo ordered his horse and, setting spurs to his steed, galloped on toward San Diego as fast as horseflesh could take him. Once provided with the legal consent, and setting all superfluous matters aside, the nuptials were celebrated on March 6, 1832, although he had only received the permission on March 2.[40]

The wedding ceremony took place in the chapel of the Presidio of San Diego and was performed by Fray Fernando. The godfather and godmother, or sponsors, were Señor Juan Bandini and his wife Doña Dolores Estudillo. Among the witnesses and wedding guests were Commandant General José Maria Echeandia and his staff, with many of the most distinguished persons of both sexes in San Diego.

According to Don Guadalupe, it was customary for the groom on entering the church to give the officiating priest two rings and a dowry of thirteen loose coins, either of gold or silver according to the circumstances of the groom. These coins and rings were placed in a shell or plate. The dowry was to be the property of the bride. In observance of that custom, which dated from Father Serra's time, Vallejo on entering the church placed a roll of thirteen gold coins and two gold rings in the dish held before him by Father Fernando. Then the bridal party drew up to the presbytery where the wedding ceremony took place. While the priest went through the formalities prescribed by the church, and blessed the rings and the dowry, the bride and groom and the sponsors formed a circle. After the conclusion of the sacrament, the priest took one of the rings and placed it on the ring finger of Vallejo's right hand. Then the groom took the other ring and placed it on the hand of his bride. Vallejo then took the dowry, and addressing his wife said: "With this ring and dowry I now endow you, in token of our union."

If, after receiving the dowry, the bride spilled the coins in the shell, custom decreed that they then became the property of the officiating priest. Generally the good fathers used these sums to buy furnishings for the church and distributed some part of the money to the poor.

Francisca Carrillo, who from her infancy had been accustomed to do charitable acts for the church, did not neglect the opportunity to exercise her prerogative. Acting on the impulse of her generous heart, she gave the dowry to the reverend Father Fernando. Filled with happiness he said:

"Daughter, you love your Holy Mother Church, and your children in their turn will love you; I bless you in God's name."

From the church the wedding party went to the Bandini home where a sumptuous banquet had been prepared. The guests followed the established custom of toasting the happiness of the newlyweds. Governor Echeandia's toast lingered long in Vallejo's memory, for it brought recollections of the happiest day of his life. Forty-three years later he quoted it:

"I toast the happiness of this young couple whom I appreciate and esteem most highly. I made young Vallejo an ensign of cavalry because of his merits and activity in the service. I have known his young wife since she was eight years old, and I have had repeated occasions to admire her fine manners. May heaven load them with happiness, and may their progeny be numerous and worthy of them, an adornment to our beloved California, and to the cultured society of San Diego."[41]

He drank half the contents of the wineglass he held in his hand, and after a moment of silence addressed Vallejo. Times of revolt, he said, were not the most appropriate in which to marry. During the day, he told the groom, he had received news which made it imperative for him to move north quickly, and Vallejo must accompany him. He had made the decision previous to the wedding, had issued the necessary instructions, and it was impossible for him to change his decision. He was grieved to the very soul to separate Vallejo from his beloved, but the affairs of the service took precedence over all else.

Echeandia's words made Vallejo shudder. The guests gave him searching looks, trying to guess whether he would disobey the order that would tear him from his bride. And all the girls watched the bride to see if she would consent to have her husband leave on a campaign. But they learned nothing by their inquisitive looks, for both Vallejo and his wife maintained inscrutable faces, concealing their agitation though their hearts sank.

Music for the dance that followed was provided by the Presidio's orchestra and by a complete band that Don Juan Bandini had secured at Mission San Luis Rey. The festivities were kept up all night and part of the morning. The bridal pair wished to retire, but according to custom, were forced to remain until the party broke up and the last guest had departed.

It was six o'clock in the morning of March 7, 1832 (Ash Wednesday), when the staff sergeant came to Vallejo's house, presented General Echeandia's compliments and gave him his orders. Don Mariano reported at headquarters at once. There Echeandia handed him a sealed envelope. Anxiously Vallejo opened it. He hoped the Governor had taken pity on him at the last moment and had decided to keep him on garrison duty in San Diego, until such time as he could return to his own company at the Presidio of San Francisco. That hope gave him strength to break the seal. "But, merciful Lord! how soon it vanished!" The envelope contained his appointment as aide-de-camp, with orders to report to the Commander-in-chief. Vallejo approached the corner of the room where Echeandia sat; he saluted and awaited

his superior's orders, which were that he should inform the Post Adjutant, Second Lieutenant of Grenadiers, Don Juan Rocha, that first call to saddle was to be sounded at once; half an hour later the second call was to be given; and Rocha should hold himself in readiness to sound the third call whenever the order should come.

Imagine Vallejo's feelings at that moment! . . . When the bugler sounded the second call, Vallejo mounted his horse and set out for his father-in-law's house. He greeted his wife's relatives, and ordered his arms brought to him. There was a possibility that that very day they might have to fight the enemy, who, more arrogant than ever, believed Echeandia was surrounded by men incapable of withstanding a combat against the veterans who followed the pseudo-Commandant General Zamorano.

Don Mariano had not yet finished putting on his arms when the bugler sounded the third call. Vallejo had never before, nor did he ever afterward, hear a bugle call sound so harshly to his ears. Taking his wife by the hand, he removed a watch from around his neck and gave it to her. He told her he would do everything in his power to return to her soon. Fearing that his emotions would make him hesitate to do his duty, he called for his horse. He approached the animal's side to mount. As he did, he cast a glance toward his bride. An overpowering desire overcame him to give her a last embrace. He called her to him.

"Francisca," he said,

> Come, hold me close to thee,
> From round me do not draw away thy embrace,
> Do not hide thy lovely face,
> Timidly fleeing from me.
> Let our lips be pressed together,
> In an eternal and ardent kiss,
> And let us pass away like this
> The slow sweet hours forever.

She came at his call. She drew near where he stood. Suddenly he realized that if he tarried, perhaps he might lack the courage to go. With a leap he was in the saddle. He dared not look back. He put spurs to his horse, leaving his beautiful bride, eyes brimful with tears, standing with outstretched arms, as he dashed away to war.[42]

Thus Don Mariano described the parting when writing forty-three years later. It was pure fantasy that his pen put on paper. The fact is that Don Mariano was called away from the arms of his beloved on the morning of March 7, 1832, and ordered to report to Echeandia; but stern duty called him, not to engage in a campaign but to a council of war in San Diego.

Echeandia, frightened by the activities of Captain Agustin V. Zamorano in Monterey, who had organized a party to oppose him, called all his officers to assemble in a council of war at the Presidio of San Diego. They considered what action was to be taken against Zamorano. A number of resolu-

tions were proposed and approved, and the meeting adjourned until the next day. Continuing its work on March 8 and 13, the council debated the military succession to the command of the territory. After a long discussion, Vallejo moved that Colonel Echeandia, who was already in command, should be acknowledged as being the officer to whom the post belonged. The resolution was approved, with only Captain Santiago Argüello dissenting.[43]

While he was contemplating his move against Zamorano, Echeandia, on March 6, appealed to Pio Pico to convene the legislature, which he himself had abolished the month before, requesting it to meet at San Diego to help him. The members of that august body, after pouting coyly for a time, consented to forget Echeandia's previous insults to their dignity and decided to meet. Vallejo of course was in San Diego all this time enjoying the companionship of his wife. Then on March 18, 1832, he was recalled from that blissful state to face the realities of life, when he received a letter from Pico stating that the legislature would meet in San Diego on the following day.

On March 19, the legislature considered measures for checking the disorders that might result from the northern counter-revolt. Since there was no civil governor, the members believed that this was their duty. Vallejo, with the rest, condemned Zamorano's action, especially his attempt to ignore the legislature. At the next meeting, on March 23, 1832, a circular was issued to all municipal authorities, asking them to preserve order and to recognize the legislature as the legitimate government. It then adjourned with the intention of convening again in Los Angeles within a few days.

Now for the first time, on March 24 Don Mariano was forced to separate from his bride. Torn between love and duty, he chose the latter and set out for the Pueblo de Los Angeles to attend to affairs of state. On arriving at Mission San Luis Rey, however, the deputies were dismayed to learn that Los Angeles had gone over to the opposition. They also found Echeandia arming the mission Indians for war. Greatly alarmed by all the martial activity on both sides, the timid deputies decided to meet at San Luis Rey, in an attempt to preserve the peace and prevent bloodshed. At this session a resolution was approved and sent to both parties to the civil war, warning Echeandia and Zamorano that they would be held responsible for any outbreak of hostilities and asking them to avoid a rupture. This done, the Most Excellent Legislature considered its business finished, and adjourned to meet again at San Diego on May 15, 1832.[44]

Free once more, Vallejo returned to San Diego to finish his honeymoon. There he stayed the remainder of March and part of April. It was at that time that he was called by Echeandia, still at San Luis Rey, to join his troops on a march to Los Angeles.

Late in April after Echeandia had regained possession of Los Angeles, Vallejo went to Mission San Gabriel. From there, on April 25, 1832, he wrote to his cousin, Domingo Carrillo, who had previously been arrested by Zamo-

rano in Santa Barbara. Vallejo complained bitterly about the bad faith of certain friends who could not be trusted. It was because of their good faith, he wrote, that they had gotten into difficulties, for men did themselves great wrong not to distrust; and he added:

> May the day come when the devil may take all of us Californians, after they have hanged those of us who have even the slightest faith in ourselves! If this ever comes to pass, even if I were the first one, I would be happy provided that all suffered alike. I rejoice that this is happening to us. This is the school of experience and thus we learn. Let come what may, for this must come to an end! We shall see who can best parry the thrust when things are seen in their proper perspective.[45]

This letter clearly shows the state of mind into which Vallejo and doubtless other Californians had gotten over their political troubles.

After this visit to San Gabriel, Vallejo returned to San Diego early in May and was there when the legislature convened once again on May 15, 1832. During this session, that body prepared a memorial to the President of Mexico, detailing all political events since February 24, 1832. In composing this document Vallejo took a large part. After the meeting adjourned, the legislature moved to Los Angeles, not to meet again until late in December.[46] Vallejo, however, remained in San Diego with his bride.

At this time Echeandia and Zamorano entered into negotiations to divide the jurisdiction over the territory between them. After two months of correspondence, they finally agreed on July 7, 1832, when news arrived from Mexico that Brigadier General Don José Figueroa had been appointed the new Governor of California. From then on there was peace. Echeandia stayed in San Diego, and Vallejo probably remained there also, for there is no record of his movements during the latter half of 1832. Perhaps he made some trips to Los Angeles. Late in December he went to that city for the final session of the legislature. That body met on December 29, 30, and 31, to discuss the matters that were to be presented to the new Governor. On December 31, 1832, the legislature finished its business and adjourned *sine die*.[47]

Vallejo seems to have remained in Los Angeles for some time in January, after the legislature adjourned, but he probably went to San Diego later on. After Governor Figueroa arrived in Monterey, on January 15, 1833, and issued his amnesty proclamation on the 19th, Vallejo, Osio, and Alvarado hastened to the Capital to report to the new Governor and offer their services to maintain order. General Figueroa received them cordially, had a long conference with them, and invited them to dinner. From that day forward they were his firm friends.[48]

Whether Vallejo brought his wife north at that time does not appear, but it may be assumed that he did since he did not return to San Diego. Governor Figueroa took a great liking to Ensign Vallejo, and did all that lay in his power to promote the young officer's interests. Soon after his return from the south, Vallejo was ordered to join his company in San Francisco.

Late in February, Figueroa issued a call for new elections for members

of the legislature. The electors met on March 24, 1833, in Monterey. Vallejo was reelected as a holdover from 1832, as the senior ranking member; but something went wrong with the election and it was declared illegal. Another was held in December. When the legislature met, Vallejo was denied his seat, however, because an order had come from Mexico, dated May 17, 1832, stating that Vallejo as a military officer was not entitled to a seat in that body.[49]

It was while this election was going on and Vallejo was still at San Francisco, on March 4, 1833, that the stork hovered over his simple home, and the first baby was born to Señora Vallejo. It was a proud day for Don Guadalupe, and his company officers and men celebrated the occasion by drinking a toast to the happy family. The first problem concerning the Vallejos was a name to give this first boy. Don Mariano solved the difficulty. He chose a name from the classics. The baby was christened Andronico.

In the meantime, Vallejo was busy with other affairs. Governor Figueroa had been instructed to pay particular attention to the northern frontier, and to colonize it up to latitude 42° north. Accordingly, on April 11, 1833, the Governor announced his intention to found a presidio north of San Francisco Bay. He ordered Ensign Vallejo to take an expedition into that territory, explore it, select a site and offer land to settlers.

Vallejo received the order on April 19, and at once began to prepare for the expedition. What day his party set out from San Francisco does not appear, but it must have been about April 23. It went directly to Fort Ross, where it arrived on the 26th. Vallejo and his men were received with great cordiality by the Russian commander, Peter Kostromitinoff, who insisted that they should stay several days. During their visit, Vallejo and Kostromitinoff discussed the purpose of the Russian settlements in America and especially of those in California. His host informed Don Mariano that Fort Ross and Bodega were founded solely with the object of carrying on the hunting for sea-otter and seal. The cultivation of the land was only to produce food for the two establishments and despite great effort yielded little profit. The raising of livestock was scarcely more profitable. After twenty years they had only 800 head of cattle, 700 horses, 2000 sheep, and sixty hogs. Their orchard consisted of 400 fruit trees and 700 vines. At one time the Russians had begun to cultivate wheat fields farther inland, but after representations made by Governor Echeandia to Chargé d'Affairs Cyril Klebnikoff, the latter ordered that further expansion inland should be abandoned.[50]

At Fort Ross, Vallejo found two grist mills, one run by water and the other by wind. There was a shipyard where four brigs and some twelve launches had been constructed. The Fort also boasted a tannery, a blacksmith shop and a carpentry shop.

The population of Ross numbered some three hundred persons, among whom were seventy Russians of all ages and sexes, the remainder being half-

breeds, Russian and Kodiak, and native. The fort was a stockade, one hundred yards square, with towers on opposite corners each mounting six pieces of artillery of No. 8 caliber. Six other pieces of the same size were located inside a large building with turrets on both sides, which was known as the barracks and was located by the principal gate or sentry box. Three other pieces were placed behind the commander's house, and all the artillery was mounted on naval gun-carriages. Two light three-pounders were located laterally on the stairs of the principal building. There was also an armory in which a stand of sixty rifles was kept.

The walls of the fort and all the buildings were of timber, strong enough to resist an attack by the natives, but useless against the lightest artillery. There was no military force there, all the men being traders. The commander was a private individual entrusted with the administration of justice, and was directly under the authority of the Governor at Sitka. The town outside the fort consisted of fifty-seven large houses placed without regard to order or plan, which gave it a disordered aspect. Within the fort there were only nine large, handsome, frame buildings, including the warehouses and granaries.[50a]

Vallejo found Kostromitinoff a person of fine qualities, possessing considerable talent and education, with liberal ideas in governmental affairs. After three days, Don Mariano and his party set out from Fort Ross for Bodega, on April 28, 1833. They visited that place and took note of the bay and the settlement, then they went inland to explore the country toward Santa Rosa and Petaluma. This was the first time Vallejo had ever been in the territory north of the Bay. That year the rainy season was long and heavy. Although it was May, the country was almost impassable due to the mud and rain. Vallejo on this account was prevented from making a thorough reconnaissance, and he had to be content with climbing several high peaks, from which he got a panoramic view of the country. The expedition also found the Indians in that territory very hostile, the result of the policy of forcibly inducting them into the mission service. After several days spent in exploring, the party returned to San Francisco on May 5, 1833.[51]

No sooner had Vallejo returned to San Francisco than he found trouble brewing in his own garrison. The troops had not been paid for months, and they had very little to eat. Consequently, on May 23, he made a trip to Missions Santa Clara and San José, to procure supplies. Provisions at the missions were scanty, and the best he could do was to get twenty pesos worth of soap, half a sack of peas, half a sack of lentils, and half a sack of chickpeas. The grain he bought with his own money. At Santa Clara he was able to obtain only four bars of soap, and there was no lard to be had anywhere. These missions were then in the hands of the Mexican Franciscans, and Vallejo voiced the wish that the days of the Spanish friars might return, when the soldiers did not want for anything. This was a bit ironic, for Vallejo

had been one of the most outspoken critics and enemies of the old Spanish missionaries.

Don Mariano even found it difficult to procure means to light his headquarters and the guardhouse. He had to borrow candles from Don José Sanchez, who was the only one willing to give him any. They were made from the tallow of the cattle that he had slaughtered. Vallejo claimed that he had to pay for them out of his own pocket, or from the company fund when there chanced to be any money in the treasury. There were times even when they had no candles, for there was no tallow from which to make them.[52]

On May 31, 1833, Vallejo wrote to General Figueroa that he had heard from authentic sources that the Russian Governor of Sitka would arrive at Fort Ross in June. The real object of his visit was a secret, but in Vallejo's opinion the most likely reason was to extend the Russian settlements into the interior of California, toward Sonoma; therefore, it was imperative, by whatever means possible, to establish a Mexican settlement there. Otherwise, if the Russians acquired a foothold, it might result in the loss of a large, fertile, and attractive territory.[53]

During the summer, Vallejo continued his efforts to get food and clothing for his troops, but without much success. On September 9, 1833, he wrote to the Paymaster General of California, Don Rafael Gomez, reporting that his soldiers were almost naked and that he had no means to clothe them. Furthermore, he had spent over 200 pesos of his own for necessary articles and wished the money refunded. He also wanted to know why he should have to furnish many things himself which the Government was supposed to provide.[54]

Two days later, Vallejo reported that Lieutenant Don Dámaso A. Rodriguez had stated that for several months the troops had had nothing but corn to eat. At other times he had been able to help, but now he did not have the means, so he appealed to the commander for aid. Should aid fail to arrive, Vallejo said he would not be responsible for what might happen.[55]

In spite of all of Vallejo's appeals, no aid came, and what he feared might happen soon occurred. The troops finally grew weary of going naked, eating only corn, and going without pay. Early in October, there was a minor revolt at San Francisco, aided by the guard of Mission Santa Clara. These soldiers attempted to get rid of Vallejo, their commander, by irregular and unmilitary methods, though no force was used. They complained and accused him of ill-treating them and of failing to provide them with food and clothing. Vallejo was furious at this turn of events, and wrote to Governor Figueroa indignantly demanding the infliction of severest penalties upon the offenders. Figueroa had the soldiers tried, but the court merely ordered that eight of the men should be transferred to other presidios.[56]

To the difficulties that he was having with the soldiers was added still another burden upon Vallejo and his wife. Their first-born took sick, and

about the middle of September, 1833, the infant Andronico Vallejo died, and was buried in the cemetery of Mission San Francisco de Asis. The young couple were heartbroken and grieved over their great loss, but soon other problems arose to demand their attention.

While he was having his troubles with the supplies, Vallejo was also worried about the fancied Russian advance into the interior. This was indicated in a circular which he issued to the corporals of the guards at Missions San Rafael and Sonoma. He admonished them to permit no one to travel to or from Fort Ross into the interior without passports issued by the Commandant General, or at least by the authorities in San Francisco. He scolded them for their negligence in not demanding such passports in the past, and warned them that if they disregarded his order he would proceed against them to the full extent of the military regulations.[57]

With the worry about the Russians still on his mind, Vallejo hastened his preparations for establishing small settlements at Petaluma and Santa Rosa. On October 3, 1833, ten heads of families, which included some fifty persons, agreed to settle at those unoccupied places. When Father José de Jesus Maria Gutierrez, of Mission Sonoma, heard of the project, he sent a few men to build a hut and to place a band of horses on the land in order to establish a claim to the section as a mission ranch. When the settlers arrived at Petaluma, they found the site of their prospective town already occupied. Unable to settle there, most of the families returned to San Francisco, but a few settlers remained and planted crops at Petaluma. Vallejo himself had ten bushels of wheat sown on his own account. The mission representatives also stayed, and the respective claims were left to be settled in the future by the Governor. The families then moved to Santa Rosa. But Father Gutierrez again forestalled them. He sent two neophytes with some hogs as the nucleus of a mission ranch, to establish his claim. From there also, the settlers were forced to withdraw before January 8, 1834.[58]

Early in 1834, Vallejo returned to San Francisco, where he stayed for some weeks attending to routine duties and preparing to move to the north side of the Bay permanently. On May 1, 1834, Governor Figueroa convened the legislature, and in his speech he mentioned the plan for the proposed establishing of a fort at Santa Rosa.[59] Then on May 14, he sentenced a criminal to serve out his term of punishment at the new establishment of Santa Rosa.[60] Early in June, Figueroa submitted his grant of the Petaluma ranch to Vallejo, for the approval of the territorial legislature. This was passed without opposition, and that act put an end to the claim of Mission Solano to the property.[61] It was on a later grant by Governor Micheltorena, however, that Vallejo based his claim to his Petaluma ranch, which was confirmed by the U. S. Land Commission.

While Vallejo was at San Francisco arranging to transfer his company to Sonoma, a second son was born, on April 28, 1834. Since Don Guadalupe had

been very fond of his first baby, he named the second child also Andronico. Proud that he had another son, Vallejo was ready to set out to face the adventures that were to meet him on the northern frontier.

In August of that year, General Figueroa made an inspection tour to the northern frontier, and at that time ordered Vallejo to found towns at Petaluma and Santa Rosa to care for the colonists then on the way from Mexico. While thus engaged, Vallejo had some trouble with the Satiyome Indians under Chief Sucarra, and a bloody battle took place. The Indians were defeated, with very heavy losses in killed and captured, but Vallejo also lost a number of soldiers. Don Mariano then called on General Figueroa for aid, and when the latter arrived the Indians were forced to sign a treaty.[62] From evidence on hand it would seem that the details of the battle were greatly exaggerated. Figueroa's trip took him to Fort Ross, and on his way back he left a small force on the frontier. He returned to Monterey on September 12, 1834, in time to receive the colonists of the Híjar-Padrés enterprise, and to begin the experiment of secularizing the missions.

On July 15, 1833, Governor Figueroa had issued his provisional regulations for the emancipation of the Indians. This was a long document giving detailed instructions.[63] About a year later, just before his visit to Fort Ross, Governor Figueroa, on August 9, 1834, published his provisional regulations for the secularization of the missions. Under them, civil commissioners were to be appointed to administer the mission properties.[64]

It was under this law, that Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was appointed by Figueroa as administrator to secularize Mission San Francisco Solano, in October, 1834. While he was thus engaged, Vallejo took some Indians from Mission Sonoma to a place near Mark West Creek, where they began to build rude houses for the town of Santa Anna y Farias, where the colonists were to settle.[65] This was a little more than five miles from the present city of Santa Rosa. And at the same time, on October 19, the territorial electors met at Monterey and chose José Antonio Carrillo as deputy to the Mexican Congress for the term 1835-36, and Mariano G. Vallejo as alternate.

With Mariano Vallejo permanently established at Mission Solano, the two main threads of this narrative now come together for the first time. From this point forward they are one and inseparable.

Chapter V

THE MISSION AND THE PUEBLO

In October, 1834, the Spanish settlement of Sonoma consisted of the mission church and the quadrangle of the Mission San Francisco Solano, the barracks for the garrison, several houses for the families of retired soldiers, and the rows of straw huts that composed the Indian village.

At this time Father Lorenzo Quijas, formerly stationed at Mission San

SALVADOR VALLEJO

(Younger Brother of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo)

From a photograph in the possession of Mrs. Charles D. McGettigan.

Francisco de Asis, was in charge of this establishment. He had been transferred early in March, 1834, to replace Father José de Jesus Maria Gutierrez, who had been sent to Mission San Antonio.[1]

Early in the summer of 1834, Governor Figueroa had received official notice that the Híjar-Padrés colony was on the way to California. On receiving the news the Governor decided that the colonists should settle on the northern frontier; thus it was with the double purpose of secularizing the Mission and building a new town that Vallejo was sent there. Don Guadalupe took with him several families and his youngest brother Salvador, a youth of twenty years, who for the first time was to experience the rigors of Indian warfare and frontier life. At that time Don Salvador had no official position, but he went to give his brother whatever aid he might accord, and brought back with him as majordomo, to take charge of the Mission, Don Guadalupe Antonio Ortega.[2]

The secularization of Mission Solano began at once, with Ortega in full charge, aided by Salvador Vallejo in an unofficial capacity. Don Guadalupe busied himself with the affairs of the colony and exercised only supervisory control over mission affairs. Trouble soon began, and for a time Vallejo had his hands full. There were numerous difficulties connected with the building of a village, and secularization did not proceed with any degree of smoothness. Ortega and Don Salvador soon quarreled with Father Quijas over the management of the property, and over the former's conduct towards the Indians. These quarrels grew in intensity until the summer of 1835, when they finally came to a head.[3]

The arrival of the colony in September, 1834, only served to complicate matters for both Governor Figueroa and Vallejo. It happened that its director, José Maria Híjar, had been appointed civil governor of California by President Valentin Gomez Farias. Furthermore, Assistant Director José Maria Padrés was to replace General Figueroa as military commander of California, Governor Figueroa having asked to be relieved some time before because of ill health. To aid in promoting the interests of the colony, its leaders and other prominent men in Mexico had formed a commercial company known as the *Compañia Cosmopolitana*, which was to engage in exporting California products. The Secretary of War, General Anaya, was president of this concern, and Juan Bandini, California's congressman, was its vice-president.[4]

Under Bandini's leadership the Mexican Congress passed a bill on August 17, 1833, providing for the immediate secularization of the missions. Another bill passed on November 26, 1833, virtually turned all mission properties over to the colony, to be used in furthering that scheme.[5]

After almost a year of preparations, the colony, some 250 strong, set out from Mexico City in April, 1834, and after numerous adventures arrived at the port of San Blas on July 23, 1834.[6] There, half of the members boarded

the brig *Natalia* and the remainder were loaded on the *Morelos*, formerly the old *San Carlos*; and on August 1, 1834, both vessels set sail for California. The *Natalia* with Híjar, Bandini, and half of the colonists, because of illness among the passengers, put into San Diego, where they landed on September 1, 1834. The *Morelos*, with Padrés and the other settlers, entered Monterey on September 25, where the newcomers received a hearty welcome.[7]

Soon Híjar and Padrés presented their credentials to Governor Figueroa, only to find that while they were at sea General Santa Anna had become President and had sent an overland message to Figueroa ordering him not to surrender his offices, or the mission properties. Though greatly disappointed, the directors of the colony nevertheless presented their claims to the missions in October, 1834. Figueroa, however, turned the matter over to the territorial legislature, which after prolonged discussions refused to honor the claims.[8] There followed a long and bitter controversy between the California authorities and the directors of colonization, over the rights to the missions. This continued until December, when Híjar and Padrés finally gave up the claims.[9]

Meanwhile the colonists who had landed at San Diego began to scatter throughout the south, and only a few finally arrived at Monterey. During the winter, the remainder of the colonists, under Padrés' leadership, were transported in small groups to Mission Solano, where Vallejo set men to work constructing buildings and other shelters in which to house them. But for the time being they were quartered in the Mission. By March, 1835, most of them were fairly comfortably housed, but their supplies had begun to run low, and the other missions which were supposed to provide goods were slow in sending them. Governor Figueroa was appealed to, but he had no food to send. He suggested that the colony should be abandoned and that each colonist should be allowed to settle where he pleased.[10]

The directors protested against such a policy as being opposed to the views of the Mexican Government. Then, seeing that protests were useless, they attempted to organize the colonists into an armed body with which they hoped to take over by force the territorial government. Rumors of the plotting reached the Governor, who on March 4, 1835, wrote to Vallejo:

> If by some chance you should discover some project or revolutionary attempts, you will proceed to institute an investigation to ascertain the truth of the matter, and if some proof should result, after taking all the precautions which you may think necessary, you shall effect the arrest of the authors, against whom proceedings will be continued until they are convicted.[11]

From then on Vallejo spent much of his time watching the conspirators. The colonists were bitterly disappointed because their enterprise had failed, and many blamed Figueroa for it. Naturally Híjar and Padrés did nothing to dispel that resentment, but did their best to fan it into a flame of discontent. To accomplish this, Padrés daily harangued the colonists at Sonoma upon the wrongs inflicted upon them by the Governor. He also had concealed

a stand of two hundred rifles and ammunition, which he had brought from Mexico, and with which he intended to arm the colonists.[12] While this was taking place in Sonoma, other plots were being hatched in Los Angeles, of which Figueroa was informed on March 13, while at San Juan Bautista. From there he sent the following order to Vallejo:

> Under separate cover of this date, I notify you of the occurrences at Los Angeles. This act leaves no doubt of the radical claims of the enemies of peace, and gives sufficient excuse to proceed against them. In that case I advise you immediately to confiscate the arms that Señor Padrés has concealed, all the rifles that may be distributed among the colonists there, and also six boxes of war munitions which he has. I rely on your prudence to act in this matter with all the energy and cunning that is necessary to assure the outcome and avoid mishaps, but let it be done at once.[13]

This order was rushed post haste to Sonoma, along with another one for the arrest of Francisco Verduzco and Romualdo Lara, both of whom were to be embarked aboard the frigate *Rosa* then in San Francisco Bay. Vallejo watched the colonists until they were about ready to strike and then suddenly fell upon them. On March 18, he reported to Figueroa:

> In conformity with your orders issued on the 13th instant from San Juan Bautista, and which were received in Sonoma at 4:00 A. M. on the 14th, I began my operations, getting ready and observing the movements of the leaders of the colony. I remained there until the 16th at 4:00 P. M., but as their activities allowed me no more time, I surprised them, first arresting Messrs. Verduzco, Lara, and many others, because it was necessary to act instantly. I gathered two bundles of rifles which Señor Padrés had, and all the others in possession of the colonists, three boxes of ammunition, and several bandoliers; all of which are kept under guard until your further orders.
>
> That same hour I ordered the departure of Verduzco and Lara for this port, and I delivered them to the frigate *Rosa* yesterday evening. Now at 11:00 A. M. I shall return to Sonoma to finish all that I am to do, and then I shall give you a detailed account of what occurred.[14]

Two days later, March 20, Vallejo received a report from one of his subordinates, certifying that the arms of the colonists had been collected without resistance, and that two groups of colonists had departed for other sections of the territory.[15]

When Figueroa received Vallejo's report of March 18, he sent him further orders on March 21, expressing satisfaction over Verduzco and Lara's arrest, and asking what had been done about Híjar and Padrés. He stated that those two should also be arrested and placed aboard the *Rosa*, where they were to be kept under guard until they could be transported to San Blas.[16]

On March 26, Vallejo communicated the order to Híjar, who at once protested against such a procedure as an invasion of his inalienable rights and privileges. Nevertheless, he submitted to General Figueroa's orders and with Padrés went aboard the *Rosa*.[17] The vessel sailed from San Francisco at the end of March, with the four leaders of the plot and their families aboard. Some time in April they were transferred at Santa Barbara to the *Loriot*, which landed them in Mexico in May.[18]

On April 15, 1835, Vallejo sent the Governor a report of the revolutionary activities. According to his account, the arrival in Sonoma of Híjar, Verduzco,

and Lara had caused considerable excitement among the colonists, because they stated openly that they were going to surprise the garrison. Vallejo heard them planning to capture him and his troops. The conspirators gathered at 11:00 P. M. at the house of Padrés, among them being Verduzco, Lara, Padrés, Estrada, Pazos, Santa Maria, and Aguilar. They had a long discussion as to the ways and means of capturing the guard. This they were to do by gathering behind the church. Being thus forewarned, Vallejo prepared his men and watched the plotters for nine days, until March 14, when Figueroa's orders were received. The arrival of a ship at that time occasioned much surprise and caused the rebels to act. On the 16th, the arms were distributed and they were ready to strike, but before they could do so, Vallejo surprised and disarmed them. At the time of the capture, Padrés' wife remarked to her husband, "I am glad that they got the drop on you for being so slow, perhaps you will be quiet now."[19]

After the deportation of the leaders, the remainder of the colonists scattered throughout California and settled down to a peaceful life. With that worry off his mind, Vallejo turned to other things. His next problem was the completion of the secularization of the Mission, which had been going on since October, 1834, under the supervision of Sergeant Ortega, aided by Salvador Vallejo. During those six months, while Vallejo's attention had been occupied with affairs of the colony, a heated controversy had been in progress between Antonio Ortega and Father Lorenzo Quijas. The quarrel had begun even before the Friar had transferred the Mission properties. Sergeant Antonio Ortega was an uneducated, rude, coarse, unprincipled man who knew no restraints in his vulgarity and lewdness. Salvador Vallejo was at that time a rather bold, impudent youth, struck with a sense of his own importance, who although he held no official position, nevertheless liked to display his authority. Father Quijas, on the other hand, was an educated and conscientious man, well along in years, who did not like to be dictated to, especially by those who had no authority to do so.

The Friar had not even turned over the properties before Ortega and Salvador began to order the Indians and laborers not to obey the priest. Then they took a small launch which Father Quijas had, and would not let him use it unless he begged Ortega for it. Neither was he permitted to have the horses and colts which the Governor had granted him for his use, in spite of the fact that they were given in part payment for his allowance. Later, Quijas requested four cows on his allowance, and one cow a week for slaughter. He also wished the yard to his house fenced off. All these requests were denied him, however. The quarrel continued from month to month, especially over the matter of living quarters. Most of the rooms were closed up, the Friar's apartments were reduced in size, and his reception room was used as a hallway. All this so nettled the poor Missionary that he finally protested, whereupon Salvador Vallejo reproached him with great boldness and impudence,

even threatening to strike the Father. Quijas, however, remembering his sacred calling, disdained to make a reply.

All of the preceding complaints were mere trifles, however, compared to the main one which Quijas made to his superior, Father Garcia Diego. As time had gone by, Ortega had grown bolder and more immoral, giving full play to his lust, until Father Quijas could endure it no longer. He wrote to Father Garcia Diego the details of all the annoyances he had suffered, and then added:

> Yet all this is as nothing, and I have not complained; but I am bound to do so by reason of the many and abominable deeds of Ortega who in an unbridled and barefaced manner has given free rein to the infamous vice of lust. He spares neither young girls, married women nor widows, neither heathen nor Christian, as is affirmed by the majority of the inhabitants of San Solano, soldiers as well as civilians and neophytes, but especially by Sergeant Pablo Pacheco, Ignacio Azevedo, Nicolas Higuera, a number of carpenters, shoemakers, and other neophytes, men as well as women, who have told me personally and even related it to Father Perez. Sergeant Pacheco, among many other things concerning Ortega, stated that the latter had boasted of having made the rounds of all the women in San Solano, and that he expected not to miss a single one. Don Ignacio Azevedo relates similar happenings, and adds that he hides from no one, which is believable.[20]

Father Quijas then went on to give case after case, naming the women who had been raped by Ortega and those who had witnessed the acts. The Friar also told how he had heard Ortega telling a group of soldiers and neophytes that adultery was no sin, and also teaching the neophytes all of his profanity. By July, 1835, Father Quijas had become so discouraged over the state of affairs at Sonoma that he withdrew to Mission San Rafael and refused to return to Mission Solano unless Ortega was removed as majordomo. It was from the former station that he penned this terrible condemnation of conditions in Sonoma.[21]

Upon receipt of this letter, Prefect Garcia Diego forwarded it to Governor Figueroa, with a demand that some action should be taken to punish such a fiend. The letter found Figueroa on his deathbed, so Sergeant Ortega went unpunished. José Castro, who became acting governor, had other and more pressing problems demanding his attention. Consequently Father Quijas did not return to Sonoma, and thereafter that Mission had no resident missionary.[22]

Meanwhile, during the preceding months, the division of the mission properties among the Indians had been going on. Each head of a family or adult single Indian received a certain quota of livestock, farming implements, and a few acres of land if he wanted it. As a general rule, the Indians returned to their rancherias when they were dismissed from the Mission, taking their movable property with them. Soon, however, the ex-neophytes found themselves in difficulties with the pagan Indians and, in order to save their livestock, most of them asked Don Guadalupe to take care of it for them on a share basis. In this way, Vallejo, who already had some stock of his own,

was enabled to increase his herds very rapidly by the addition of most of the stock formerly belonging to Mission Solano. Since the Indians made no use of the land given to them, Vallejo also was able to acquire that by grants made to him by Governors Figueroa, Alvarado, and Micheltorena. Thus by 1840, augmented by the increase of animals received from the stock owned by the Indians, Vallejo's herds numbered thousands of cattle and sheep, and hundreds of horses, mules, and other animals.[23]

At the time that secularization had begun in 1834, the population of Mission Solano numbered 760 Indians. It had decreased to 650 by the end of that year. During the year 1835, because of deaths and departures, it decreased to 550. From then on the population continued to dwindle, until by 1840 less than 100 Indians lived in the vicinity of the Mission. On the other hand, the mission stock increased more rapidly as the people diminished. At the beginning of 1831 there were 2,729 head of large stock which by 1837 had increased to 6,015. Horses and mules multiplied during the same period from 729 to 1,164, and sheep from 4,000 to 7,114. The average production of grain of all kinds for those years was 2,750 bushels.[24]

Besides the troubles of colonization and of secularization, Vallejo found other pressing matters thrust upon him. Up to the summer of 1835, Sonoma had been a mission and a frontier military post. But with white families settling there it became necessary to incorporate it into a municipality. To that end Mariano Vallejo was given the grandiloquent title of Military Commander and Director of Colonization on the Northern Frontier. On June 24, 1835, Governor Figueroa sent him two letters, one of general instructions, and the other defining his powers for founding the town. In the first, the objectives set down were: to create a town to prevent Russian penetration; to induce families from all over the territory to settle at Sonoma; and to authorize Vallejo to make land grants to the new settlers, to be confirmed later by the Government. The expenses of establishing the colony were to be assumed by the Territorial Government. Figueroa charged Vallejo to follow a prudent and economical course, to keep an exact account of all expenses and to report frequently to the Government. Then he added a bit of flattery, stating that Vallejo was the only officer whom the Government felt it could entrust with so great an enterprise and have it carried to a successful conclusion.[25] In a second part marked "very confidential" the Governor said:

> The topographic position of that frontier north of San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River may make the colonization somewhat difficult; but this government is confident that, for the national honor and your own personal interests in the social order, you will not allow an opportunity to escape which will cause you to deserve the reward to which all men aspire: Posthumous Fame. Finally the territorial government recognizes and is aware of all that you have reported upon the dangers to which that frontier is exposed from our northern neighbors, and for that very reason it recommends, that you manage to keep a preponderance of Mexican population to that of foreigners who, in view of the colonization, may solicit lands in that section of the territory which the Supreme Government entrusts to you. For that reason it charges

you again to issue titles only to those who prove that they deserve them, holding ever present the importance of the Port of Bodega and Cape Mendocino, which points are of such value for the preservation of the national integrity.

The Government omits to recommend the secrecy which this note deserves, and which you must not disclose except in the last extreme, and it is confident that you will work diligently for an object so sacred to the country where you were born. It has a guarantee in the prudence, patriotism and good faith of which you have given so many proofs, offering to recommend them anew to the Supreme Government.[26]

In the second letter Vallejo was told how he was to go about founding the town. The land was to be divided into squares, with streets and a plaza according to a regular plan. Each block was to be divided into four lots, each a hundred varas in extent, so that the owners might have sufficient space for a kitchen garden.

The village was to have its usual area of municipal lands. Within that area the citizens might be granted lots from 150 to 200 varas in extent, to be tilled subject to the laws and regulations on the subject, but the municipality was to possess the legal title to such land at all times. The settlement was to be started at the foot of a hill, on the top of which the fortification was to be erected, to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of the savages and other dangers. Finally the document defined the boundaries of the municipality in general terms. Vallejo was again offered the thanks of the Government for his efforts in founding the new city.[27]

On receiving these instructions, Vallejo hurried to the San Francisco Presidio to prepare to move his company to Sonoma. Up to that time only part of the troops had been taken to Sonoma and Vallejo's family was still living in the San Francisco station. Don Guadalupe was very anxious to make the transfer of the garrison and families, because as early as May 3, 1834, he had reported to the Governor that the Presidio buildings were in ruins and Fort San Joaquin was practically destroyed. He had also asked aid to save the war material.[28] Later that same year he suggested that the Presidio buildings should be sold to soldiers on pay accounts or to civilians in exchange for livestock for the government ranch.[29] Figueroa was favorably impressed with the idea and authorized him to dispose of them, with the exception of the barracks. Soon after, Vallejo had to attend to colonization affairs in Sonoma and nothing more was done about the Presidio.[30]

A year later Vallejo returned to complete the abandonment of the old San Francisco Presidio. The last days of June were occupied in getting some thirty soldiers of his company and their families ready to move. His next problem was to find a means of transporting them across the Bay. There were no ferry boats, and other ships were not often available; but San Francisco Bay did boast of a couple of small schooners, or perhaps they were scows, which had been built at Bodega for Captain William A. Richardson. The Captain had arrived June 25, from a trip in southern California, and was to found the town of Yerba Buena at the request of Governor Figueroa.

Vallejo appealed to Richardson for the use of his vessels, and the latter gladly rented them for the purpose of transporting the troops. Captain Richardson also went to Sonoma with the party, to assist Vallejo in laying out the town.[31]

The expedition sailed early in July, and, according to Vallejo, was on the way fourteen days, because of their ignorance of contrary tides and winds. A number of incidents took place on the voyage. Several days after leaving the Presidio the boats were stranded in the mud off Point Novato in San Pablo Bay. There they were attacked by hostile Indians from the shore. After the savages had been repulsed with heavy losses, the vessels were floated and the voyage continued. Their next stop was near Lakeville, and there Vallejo and his party were met by some three thousand Indian warriors with whom Don Guadalupe made treaties. After several days of negotiations, the party again sailed on, this time up Sonoma Creek, where they landed at Pulpula, now Pope's Landing. There they were met by some ten thousand Indians, who held a great celebration in honor of Vallejo's arrival. The natives, who were under Chief Solano, danced, feasted, and made speeches for eight days. At the end of that time, having made more treaties with the Indians, Vallejo, weary of dancing and celebrations, turned to the task of founding the town of Sonoma.[32] It must be remembered that Vallejo wrote his recollections of early events on which this portion of the story of his life and the history of Sonoma are based, some forty years after their occurrence. To this fact may be attributed many minor errors and some exaggerations.

With the abandonment of the Presidio, Vallejo definitely left San Francisco and the life of his boyhood and youth behind him. He was now entering into a new epoch of his life: his work on the northern frontier, which was destined to occupy the remainder of his days. As the first step in founding the town, he and Richardson laid out a grand plaza, two hundred varas square. Opposite the plaza on the east stood the small mission church. With the plaza as the starting point they laid out the streets. Vallejo erected barracks across the street from the plaza on the north, and west of the church. The blocks were divided into lots which were granted to the families who came to settle the town. Vallejo also built a house near the barracks for his own family. By the end of the summer of 1835 the new village of Sonoma had become a reality.[33]

Hardly had Vallejo installed his wife and child in their new home on the north side of the plaza, than Mrs. Vallejo again went into confinement. It was on the morning of August 4, 1835, that the third child was born. This time it was a girl, whom the family named Epifania Gertrudis. Being the first girl born to them, she became a great favorite with her father. Shortly after her birth the new baby was christened by Father Quijas at Mission Solano, the old Missionary coming from Mission San Rafael for the occasion, despite the recent quarrels with Vallejo.

While engaged in all his other activities on the frontier from 1834 onward,

Vallejo was forced to find time to conduct numerous Indian campaigns. His first one was in October, 1834, while he was trying to build the village of Santa Anna y Farias. A Cainamero Indian stole a beautiful stallion from Vallejo and took refuge among the Satiyomis in the Santa Rosa hills. Vallejo sent an interpreter to the tribe demanding the return of his horse, and the surrender of the thief. The Satiyomis, instead of replying, bound the messenger with fine thongs and left him where the soldiers would discover him the next morning. At dawn the unfortunate fellow was found, his body swollen and cut by the strings. It took him two months to recover from his injuries. Such an indignity called for punishment, so preparations were made for a campaign against Succara, chief of the Satiyomis. This crafty warrior, however, planned to ambush Vallejo's army in a deep ravine. When the troops approached the spot, they were met by showers of spears and arrows. A pitched battle ensued, which continued for three hours and during which six soldiers were slain and some thirty of Solano's Indians who had been helping Vallejo were captured and hanged by the Satiyomis. Vallejo's army finally emerged victorious, taking about three hundred prisoners, including men, women, and children. The savages fled, followed by Salvador Vallejo and Chief Solano with a large number of friendly Indians, who pursued them into the mountains of what is now Mendocino County. There Succara made another stand, and after another bloody battle Vallejo's troops again were victorious. Vallejo then offered terms of peace, but they were rejected and his messengers were mistreated. Bad weather interrupted further military measures, and the troops were withdrawn with some difficulty as the savages harassed the rearguard. Nevertheless, after that campaign, the hostile natives realized that the white men could not be resisted successfully for very long, and were peaceful for many months thereafter.[34]

During the autumn of 1835, following the founding of Sonoma, Vallejo, aided by Chief Solano and some other Indians, made a campaign into the upper Sacramento Valley to punish and reduce a tribe of rebellious Yolos. After sharp skirmishes, the savages sued for peace, and once again Vallejo triumphed.[35]

Lieutenant Vallejo had just returned to Sonoma from this campaign, when he received a short note from Captain Agustin V. Zamorano, dated September 29, 1835, stating that Governor José Figueroa had died that afternoon at 5:45, and requesting all officers able to do so to attend the funeral. Figueroa's death was a sad blow to Don Guadalupe, because the former had befriended him almost from the day he arrived in California. Whether Vallejo went to Monterey or not is not definitely known, though he later wrote a description of the three-day ceremony. But since he could not have received the message before October 1, it would have been impossible for him to have arrived until October 3, which was too late for him to have witnessed the event.[36]

During the remainder of the year 1835, Vallejo was busy with the numerous affairs of the frontier and Sonoma. In fact he was so pressed for time that on December 15, 1835, he resigned his position as commissioner of secularization for the Mission, with a consequent loss of salary. Antonio Ortega was then advanced to acting administrator at 500 pesos a year, and he continued to serve in that capacity until sometime in 1837.[37]

The year 1836 opened peacefully at Sonoma, but during January the Satiyomis began to steal horses from the settlers. Daniel, a chief of the Cainameros, was sent by Vallejo to stop the thefts. Before long some of the stolen animals were recaptured, but a few days later this led to an attack upon the friendly Indians by the Satiyomis, near Santa Rosa. Taken by surprise, Daniel's men suffered heavy losses, including some twenty killed, a large number of wounded, and one captured. When the news reached Vallejo, he began preparations for an expedition against the savages. But it was a very wet year, so it was not until April 1 that the weather permitted him to set out. At the head of an army of fifty soldiers and a large company of Indian allies he marched into the mountains and found the enemy entrenched in a strong position. The weather was threatening. Vallejo divided his forces, attacked from both flanks, and succeeded in dislodging the Indians, sending them fleeing to their rancherias with heavy losses. He, however, did not lose a man.

A few days after the April campaign, Vallejo was called upon to suppress the Indian slave trade which had sprung up that year. Early in 1836, Joaquin, Antonio, and Victor Castro had gone to the region of Santa Rosa to trade with the Indians. It soon developed that besides bartering with the Indians, they had also carried off men to work at San Pablo, and had bought some children who had been taken from their parents by force. Complaints from numerous Indians reached Vallejo, so he sent Sergeant Antonio Peña to arrest the Castros. They were caught with a little Indian girl in their possession, and thus were unable to deny their guilt. Vallejo had them imprisoned and later sent them to Monterey for punishment. His prompt action in this case earned him the good will of several Indian tribes.[38]

While Vallejo was thus engaged, there arrived in Santa Barbara, on April 19, 1836, Colonel Don Mariano Chico, who had been named as governor of California. Soon after he took office, Governor Chico sent orders to all the post commanders to report to him at Monterey and to give an account of their management.

He wrote to Vallejo on May 4, 1836, ordering him to proceed to Monterey at the earliest possible moment to discuss important matters; and to bring with him all the soldiers who could be spared from the garrison defending the frontier.[39] Vallejo received the message on May 12, but as he was occupied with pressing affairs he did not even acknowledge its receipt. This lack of promptness, inexcusable in a good soldier such as Don Guadalupe prided

himself to be, caused Chico to send him two other orders on May 17. The contents of both were practically the same. One said:

Lieutenant Don Mariano G. Vallejo, Monterey, May 17, 1836.

My dear sir:

On the 4th of the month, I officially notified you that I had some official business to discuss with you, for which purpose I ordered you to set out for this place with what troops were available after you had covered all points under your command. I suppose that the delay in your departure has been due to the lack of some small vessel which could transport my message to the other side of the bay, and for the same reason today I repeat the same order to you, and I advise the commander at San Francisco to furnish a means of conveying the missive which I inclose for you; to the end that your departure may not be delayed any longer, and which I charge you to carry out at the earliest possible time. I am your attentive servant who kisses your hand.

MARIANO CHICO.[40]

According to Vallejo's history, he set out for Monterey with two aids as soon as he received the first order. But on arriving at San José he was met by Eulojio Célis and Fred Becher, who warned him not to continue his journey unprepared, because Governor Chico was a cold-blooded, fierce, brutal, hypocritical, insolent, centralist who had arrested a number of the most prominent southerners. On hearing all this, Vallejo rushed back to Sonoma where he gathered a force of twenty-two soldiers, ten civilians, and fourteen Indians all of whom he armed. With this force at his back, Don Guadalupe again set out for Monterey.[41] There is every reason to believe that Vallejo made only one start for the capital, since documents signed by him at various dates prior to May 20, definitely establish him in Sonoma up to that date.

Leaving his post probably about May 21, Vallejo and the soldiers crossed to San Francisco and continued on to Monterey by way of San José and Watsonville. According to him, at these places along the way, he enlisted the aid of friends and his brother José Jesus to go to his rescue in case Governor Chico should place him under arrest. He and his company arrived in Monterey at eleven o'clock on the morning of May 26, and were admitted into the Presidio at once by the corporal of the guard. Don Guadalupe then lined up his men before the Governor's house and knocked at the door. To his surprise it was opened by an old man in a morning gown, green cap, and slippers, who inquired Vallejo's name. Vallejo then asked for the Commandant General but received no reply. Seeing the look of disgust on the Lieutenant's face, the older man retired and returned shortly dressed in the full uniform of his rank and announced himself as the Governor.[42] Again Vallejo's details must be in error. Chico at the time was about forty-five years old. He was an early riser, a hard worker and extremely energetic, so it is highly improbable that he would have been lounging about in a dressing gown at eleven o'clock in the morning.

Colonel Chico stepped out and inspected Vallejo's troops, asking the soldiers and Indians numerous questions about life on the northern frontier. The two officers then entered the house and held a long discussion concerning

many topics. Vallejo gave many excuses for his long delay in arriving and explained the difficulties of getting across the Bay. He also gave a full report on his Indian policy. At the end of this protracted interview, Chico expressed satisfaction over the manner in which affairs were being conducted, and praised the young officer's conduct and frank attitude. The Governor then invited Vallejo to drink a glass of California wine and rang a little bell on his desk. Immediately a beautiful young woman appeared named Doña Cruz, the Governor's alleged niece, but in reality his mistress, whom he asked to bring the wine. In a short while she reappeared bearing on a silver tray glasses and a bottle of the best California wine. While Vallejo drank his wine, he took in every detail of this beautiful creature whose sparkling eyes beamed on him and pierced him to the innermost recesses of his heart, almost causing him to forget his own young and lovely wife.

As Vallejo was departing, Chico clasped his hand and told him that he could visit in Monterey as long as he liked. Great was the surprise of Vallejo's friends, who were waiting for him outside the Presidio gates, to see him emerge safe and free. It seems that they had expected that Vallejo would be arrested and had assembled to help him. His reappearance made them conclude that his soldiers and boldness of bearing had cowed the Governor, and word went round the town that Guadalupe had tamed the "Bear," as Chico was called.[43]

This, of course, must be set down as an idle boast on Vallejo's part, for from his own accounts one would infer that Governor Chico was a mild, reasonable, gentlemanly person, very much interested in the young officer's work and the problems of the frontier. As for the troops Vallejo had been ordered to bring, Chico wished to send them south under Colonel Gutierrez to quell a vigilante disturbance in Los Angeles.

When Vallejo joined his friends, he, Juan Alvarado, José Castro, Gabriel de la Torre, Alcalde Ramon Estrada, and several others, gathered at the home of his brother-in-law, Captain John Cooper, where they proceeded to plot a revolution. The plan was drawn up along with a written agreement, of which each conspirator kept a copy. A few days later Vallejo returned to Sonoma.[44]

From his own story, it would seem that Vallejo was not a very trustworthy officer, if he entered into plots against his superiors without the slightest provocation, whenever he had a chance. He also was not so tough as he imagined himself to be. Vallejo prided himself in being a rabid federalist, but during the interview with Chico, the Governor asked him to take the oath to the new Mexican Constitution of 1836, which was extremely centralist. This he did willingly, without the slightest protest, according to Chico's confidential report to the Minister of War. In this same document the Governor expressed his candid opinion of Vallejo as follows:

> Along the northern frontier some eighty ranchers have been assembled, whom Vallejo and Castro have offered to arm in order to curb, so they express it, the despotism of

the government. Vallejo is daring, has natural talent that is quite marked, does not drink, and enjoys a prestige in that section greater than in the rest of the territory, though he does not lack it elsewhere. Were there four other men like him, I would be unable to maintain order, as he is not to be trusted, but fortunately there are none, and they are intimidated by my energy and veritable blustering, which serve as my arms.[45]

The preceding paragraph goes to show that Vallejo had not pulled the wool over the Governor's eyes. Chico saw Vallejo only during his visit to Monterey in May, but he was able to form an opinion of his character.

On his return to Sonoma early in June, 1836, Vallejo continued his work of developing the town and the northern frontier. To that end Don Guadalupe had attracted to that section a number of pioneer families who were aiding him in his work. By the middle of 1836, among the settlers, were the families of Julio, Joaquin, and Ramon Carrillo; Rafael Garcia; Ignacio and Pablo Pacheco; Nazario and Francisco Berryessa; Felipe and Lazaro Peña; Manuel Vaca; Domingo Suenz; Gregorio Briones; Juan Miranda; Marcos and Cayetano Juarez; Bartolo Bojorques; Francisco Duarte; Fernando Felix; Rosalino Olivera; George Yount; John Wilson; Mark West; James Black; and Timothy Murphy. Not all these people lived in the town, but those that did not were in the vicinity within a radius of a few miles.[46]

During June all was peaceful north of the Bay, and Vallejo entered into treaties with a number of the neighboring tribes. The terms of these treaties were similar, and, being interesting, one is given here:

Article 1. There shall be friendship between the commander of Sonoma and the tribes of the Guapos, Guilitoy, Ansactoy, Liguaitoy, Achistoy, Chorsuptoy, etc., whose principal chiefs are Cottro, Osemeiali, and Lilac on the North, and Moti and Peti on the East.

Article 2. The parties of the first part shall settle in the district of the warm springs, about three leagues distant from this place, in a clear spot which is not malarial and which satisfies the commandant, who shall come out to choose the spot, first consulting the chiefs.

Article 3. Fugitives and other Christians who desire to take refuge in their villages shall be handed over when demanded by the commandant.

Article 4. The fields shall not be burned in time of drought on any pretext whatever, but if this is done by other tribes the contracting parties shall not be held responsible, but they shall do all in their power to prevent it.

Article 5. The villages of the Cainamero tribe shall be respected in the same manner on the condition that both tribes, that is, the Cainamero and Guapos, shall keep on their own land without trespassing on the land specified, on pain of suffering just reprisals from the offended party.

These treaties were sent to Governor Chico at San Gabriel who approved them and made a formal acceptance on his return to Monterey early in July.

With peace apparently firmly established in his domain, Vallejo took time out for a little recreation, on July 1, 1836. At the same time that Vallejo was founding Sonoma, Captain William A. Richardson was also establishing the town of Yerba Buena. A little more than a year after it was laid out, the new city boasted two houses. One belonged to Captain Richardson, the other to Jacob P. Leese, who was about to become a brother-in-law to M. G. Vallejo. It was to celebrate the erection of the second house that Don Guadalupe, his

wife and children, along with other prominent Californians and officers from ships in the Bay, were invited to Yerba Buena by Leese. The affair was also to commemorate the independence of the United States. The Vallejos came from Sonoma by water aboard one of Richardson's boats, sent up by Leese for the occasion. On the morning of July 4, some sixty invited guests, a number of servants, and Indians gathered at the partially completed building. The place was decorated with flowers and bunting bearing the national colors of Mexico and the United States. The flags of the two countries were raised, and thus for the first time the American flag floated over the future city of San Francisco. During the course of the day a great banquet was served under a long canopy. At this time Vallejo delivered an oration on George Washington which was received with great acclaim by the audience. That evening there was a ball that lasted throughout the night. A picnic at Rincon followed. On the 6th, all the guests returned to their homes. Thereafter, every year up to 1841, when Leese moved his home to Sonoma, there was a Fourth of July celebration in Yerba Buena which was attended by as many of the members of the original party as could be present.[47]

Hardly had Vallejo returned from Leese's party, than a new Indian war broke out. At this time, one Chief Zampay of the Yoloitoy tribe began a campaign to gain power over neighboring tribes and to drive the white people from that region. Vallejo at once prepared for an attack; and the first battle of this war which lasted, off and on, for over a year, was fought in the country southwest of the spot now known as The Geysers, in Sonoma County. This fight was with the Satiyomis and was won by Vallejo's troops but at the expense of great hardships and the loss of men and animals. Vallejo paid the cost of the expedition out of his own resources, and was aided by Solano and his Suisun Indians, who rendered valiant service. Salvador Vallejo also distinguished himself.[48]

Don Guadalupe repaid Solano by showing him honors in every possible way, so as to strengthen the latter's power among his Indians. One of his methods was to present Solano with a guard of honor of forty-four Suisun and Napajo Indians under Sergeant Sabas Fernandez, all bedecked in full uniforms, consisting of a cape, a short jacket, linen cloak, regulation shirt, trousers, cap, shoes, knapsack, blankets, and saddlebags. Chief Solano was given a fine horse with silver-mounted trappings, a silver watch, and fancy riding boots. The presentation was made at a full-dress parade, after which Solano made a speech to his men asking them to capture Zampay in payment for Vallejo's kindness. In the battles of the following year this guard did fine service, losing only two of its members.[49]

While Vallejo was in the midst of this campaign in July, he received a message from Governor Chico ordering him to Monterey at once with all the troops he could muster. After his return from southern California early in July, Chico had gotten into difficulties with the citizens of Monterey, and,

fearing an armed uprising, had called all his forces to the capital in order to overawe the conspirators. Unfortunately, none of them obeyed at once, and by the end of the month the people forced Chico to return to Mexico. Vallejo at that moment was unable to obey the order, for he could not leave Sonoma undefended in the face of attacks by hostile Indians. He also did not wish to obey the orders, since he was paying the cost of the campaign and his troops were mainly a private army. Therefore, he neglected to reply to Chico, and by the time he had defeated the Indians, the Governor was on the way to Mexico.[50]

On Chico's departure, the senior officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolas Gutierrez, assumed the political and military commands of the territory. For the remainder of the summer, California was at peace, and Vallejo was left free to continue his work and Indian campaigns on the frontier. It was while thus engaged, late in October, 1836, that events took place in Monterey which opened a new era in his life.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. C. L. Gutherie, General Vallejo's Home, California Historical Landmark Series, No. 4, MS, p. 7.
2. L. Lothrop, "The Noblest Roman," *Touring Topics*, XXIII (Feb., 1931), 37-38.
3. Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 583-84.
4. Calif. Arch., Legislative Records, MS, I, 47-80; Departmental Records, MS, V, 67, 71, 75, 82, 87; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 36; give full details of these affairs.
5. Calif. Arch., Legis. Rec., MS, I, 47-104; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 37; give details of proceedings of legislative meetings.
6. J. B. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 118-21; F. Tuthill, *History of California*, p. 123; Alvarado stated that during the legislative session of 1827-29, Echeandia so directed the assembly that it approved all of his suggestions almost without question.
7. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 40-41.
8. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 72-73, 81-83, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Calif., 1932; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 39, 56-65; give full details of quarrels.
9. M. G. Vallejo, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 83-86.
10. Gov. Echeandia to Com. of Monterey, San Diego, Oct. 18, 1828, Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VI, 113.
11. Calif. Arch., Dept. State Papers, Sacramento, MS, X, 36-38; Dept. Rec., MS, VI, 36; M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 159; A. M. Osio, *Historia de California*, MS, pp. 123-25; give details of the mutiny and trial.
12. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 67-69.
13. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, 1825-1828*, II, 24-31, gives diary of expedition by Sanchez.
14. Ens. J. Sanchez, *Campaña contra Estanislao y sus Indios sublevados*, San José, May 10, 1829, MS, Calif. Arch., Bancroft Library; Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 149; Gov. Echeandia to Lt. Martinez, order to send Sanchez against Indians, Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 20; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, 129-30.
15. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XX, 280, gives a meager account of the first two military actions led by Vallejo against the Indians. Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, VII, 20, gives more details of his second expedition into the Tulares.
16. Lt. I. Martinez to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., May 16, 1829, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, No. 174.
17. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 133-38; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 109-14; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 133-38; all give good accounts of this campaign.

18. M. G. Vallejo, report to Martinez, San José, June 4, 1829, *Campaña contra Estanislao*, MS, Bancroft Lib.; Lt. Martinez to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., June 5, 1829. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, No. 175.

19. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 114.

20. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 87-96; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 148-59; Osio, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 125-51; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-85; all give details of the revolt.

21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 758-59.

22. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 97-105.

23. Vallejo, *ibid.*, 96-100, gives many details, some of which are absolutely fanciful. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 98-100.

24. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 583-84.

25. M. G. Vallejo, petition to President of Mexico, Monterey, Oct. 15, 1830, in Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 186. At that time Vallejo had just passed his 22d birthday on July 7.

26. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 216. Gov. Echeandia, summons to legislature, Monterey, Jan. 29, 1831, Calif. Arch., Dept. Rec., MS, IX, 88; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 186-87.

27. G. L. Harding, *Don Agustin V. Zamorano*, pp. 51-52.

28. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 110-11.

29. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III 189-93, gives details of the trial. Dept. State Rec., Benicia, Military, MS, LXXIII, 8-11, gives record of second case. J. de la Guerra, *Doc. para la Hist. de Cal.*, MS, V, 102, gives notice of execution. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 140-47; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 165-72; give pathetic accounts of Rubio's death, and claim he was innocent.

30. Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, Castro, petition to Gov. Victoria, S. F., Sept. 11, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 237.

31. Vallejo, Ortega, Osio, Castro, memorial to Min. of Relations, S. F., Sept. 18, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 238.

32. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 701.

33. Vallejo, Osio, Ortega, Castro, memorial, to Min. of Relations, S. F., Nov., 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Calif.*, MS, I, 241.

34. G. Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, pp. 123-57, gives full details of the conspiracy and revolt, with correspondence.

35. J. M. Echeandia to M. G. Vallejo, et al., Los Angeles, Dec. 9, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 245; XXX, 2760.

36. M. G. Vallejo to Echeandia, S. F., Dec. 19, 1831, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 248.

37. Tays, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-94; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 216-17; give details of the meeting of the legislature.

38. Minutes of Legislative Session, Los Angeles, Jan. 12-18, 1832, Los Angeles Archives, MS, IV, 46-47.

39. Tays, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-211, gives full details of all legislative activities and the controversy. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-19, gives summary of events.

40. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 188. It is hardly possible that the wedding could have taken place only four days after permission arrived. According to church rules and Mexican law the wedding bans had to be published for three successive Sundays before the ceremony could take place. Either the wedding took place about March 16, or the permission was received about February 20.

41. Vallejo, *ibid.*, p. 190.

42. *Ibid.*, II, 186-95; Vallejo gives a detailed account of the wedding, Echeandia's orders, his reactions and feelings at the separation from his wife, the latter part of which is only fancy, as he and his wife were together for several weeks after the wedding.

43. Proceedings of San Diego Military Council, San Diego, Mar. 7, 8-13, 1832, MS, in *Legajo* 52-6-6-7, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico; transcript in Bancroft Library.

44. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., San Diego, Mar. 19-22, San Luis Rey, Mar. 26, 1832, in Legis. Rec., MS, I, 211-22.

45. M. G. Vallejo to Domingo Carrillo, San Gabriel, Apr. 25, 1832, MS, No. 22a, *Legajo* 52-6-6-10, *Arch. Gen. de G. y M.*, Mexico.

46. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., San Diego, May 15, 1832, Legis. Rec., MS, I, 351-52.

47. Proceedings of Cal. Leg., Los Angeles, Dec. 30, 31, 1832, Legis. Rec., MS, I, 222-30.

48. Vallejo, *Hist. of Cal.*, MS, II, 200-3, gives an account of the affair. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 245.

49. Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 246.

50. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. J. Figueroa, confidential report, S. F., May 6, 1833, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 140.

50a. For particulars regarding the Russian occupation of California see *The Russians in California*, California Historical Society Special Publication No. 7, reprinted from California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September, 1933.

51. *Ibid.*; Vallejo makes a long report about the treatment accorded the pagans by the two northern missions. But it would seem that his account of Indian hostility is greatly exaggerated, and mostly not in accordance with facts.

52. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. Figueroa, S. F., May 31, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 47.

53. *Ibid.*, No. 28.

54. M. G. Vallejo to R. Gomez, S. F., Sept. 9, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, No. 99.

55. M. G. Vallejo to Com. of S. F., Sept. 11, 1833, *ibid.*, No. 101.

56. Proceedings of court martial, S. F., Oct., 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, Nos. 119, 178, 195.

57. M. G. Vallejo, circular to corporals, S. F., Aug. 10, 1833, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 80.

58. M. G. Vallejo to Gen. Figueroa, S. F., Oct. 3, 1833, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 316-17; *ibid.*, Petaluma, Jan. 8, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 211; *ibid.*, Santa Rosa, Jan. 13, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, No. 118. It is in this letter that the name Santa Rosa seems to have been applied to that region for the first time.

59. Gov. J. Figueroa, Address to Legis., Monterey, May 1, 1834, Legis. Rec., MS, II, No. 48.

60. Gov. J. Figueroa, Monterey, May 19, 1834, Dept. St. Pap. Benicia, Mil., MS, LXXVIII, 23.

61. Gov. J. Figueroa, Grant of Petaluma to Vallejo, Monterey, June, 1834, Legis. Rec., MS, II, 118-22.

62. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-57.

63. Gov. J. Figueroa, *Prevenciones provicionales para la emancipacion de Indios reducidos*, Monterey, July 15, 1833, MS, Bancroft Library; also, Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 328-30.

64. Gov. J. Figueroa, *Reglamento provisional para la secularizacion de las misiones*, Aug. 9, 1834, St. Pap. Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 253-63; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 342-44.

65. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-57, 279.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.*, III, 254-58, 279.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 354, 719-20.

3. Z. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, III, 380-89.

4. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 259-64.

5. M. G. Vallejo, *Documentos para la historia de California*, MS, II, 165; Superior Government State Papers, MS, IX, 1; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 336-37.

6. J. B. Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS, II, 223-30; A. M. Osio, *Historia de California*, MS, 224-30.

7. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 256-66
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-78.
9. Documents dealing with the controversy are found in State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 285-86, 290-91, 270-73, 209-10, 211, 279, 283-92.
10. Figueroa-Híjar correspondence, March 1-4, 1835, Departmental State Papers, MS IV, 8-9; Figueroa *Manifiesto*, 117-28, Bancroft Library; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 14-16; *ibid.*, XXIII, 5; State Papers, Miss., MS, VII, 72-74. VX
11. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., March 4, 1835, Vallejo *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, No. 13.
12. J. Figueroa, *Manifiesto al Gobierno Mexicano*, Bancroft Library, 22-130.
13. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo San Juan Bautista, March 13, 1835, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, No. 18.
14. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., March 18, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 25.
15. Anonymous to M. G. Vallejo, Sonoma, March 21, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 24.
16. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, March 21, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 24.
17. J. M. Híjar to M. G. Vallejo, S. F., March 27, 1835, *ibid.*, No. 26.
18. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 285-89.
19. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, Sonoma, April 15, 1835, *op. cit.*, No. 28.
20. Fr. L. Quijas to Fr. Garcia Diego, San Rafael, Aug. 2, 1835, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, MS, II, 571-76; Z. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, III, 581-89.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Fr. Garcia Diego to J. Figueroa, Sta. Clara, Aug. 12, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 571-72.
23. T. Gregory, *History of Sonoma County*, pp. 28-29.
24. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 717-20.
25. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, Dept. State Papers Miss. and Colon. MS, II, 406-8.
26. *Ibid.*
27. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 24, 1835, T. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
28. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., May 3, 1834, Departmental State Papers, Benicia, Military, MS, LXXVIII, 5-6.
29. M. G. Vallejo to J. Figueroa, S. F., July, 1834, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 129.
30. J. Figueroa to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Aug., 1834, *ibid.*, XXXI, 133.
31. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 11-22.
32. *Ibid.* Vallejo gave the date as June, 1834, which is one year too early. He also said that he had 80 cavalrymen, when there were less than 30 men at the Presidio in 1835. Why hostile Indians should suddenly appear at a spot where the natives had been at peace for ten years, and under mission rule much longer, and at a place where Vallejo had been only few days before, he did not explain. Also why thousands of Indians should suddenly come to make treaties with him, when there were only a few hundred peaceful mission Indians, and when he had been living among them for over a year, is another mystery left unsolved. Other details are equally fantastic, and must be considered as only imaginary.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.
35. M. G. Vallejo, "Report on County Names," in *Journal of the Senate of the State of California*, First Session, 1849-50, p. 532.
36. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 55-59.
37. M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 47; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 720.
38. M. L. Lothrop, "The Indian Campaigns of Gen. M. G. Vallejo," in *Quarterly of Society of California Pioneers*, IX, No. 3, Sept., 1932, pp. 181-82.
39. Chico to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, May 4, 1836, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 200.
40. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1836, pp. 205, 206.
41. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 83ff.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-93.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
45. M. Chico to Min. of War, Confidential Report, Monterey, July 22, 1836, Legajo 52-8-7-1, MS, *Archivo General de Guerra y Marina,* Mexico.
46. T. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
47. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California,* pp. 23, 27-30; M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.,* MS, III, 122-23. Celeste G. Murphy, *The People of the Pueblo,* p. 51.
48. M. L. Lothrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-87.
49. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.,* MS, III, 124-26.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

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(See also page 288.)

RIDGE'S LIFE OF JOAQUIN MURIETA

The First and Revised Editions Compared

By Franklin Walker

Until recently it was feared that no copy existed of John Rollin Ridge's life of Joaquin Murieta in its original version of 1854. As late as 1932, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, in preparing what is known as the *Police Gazette* version of the Joaquin Murieta story for a reissue by the Grabhorn Press, lamented that Ridge's first edition could not be found. This first detailed account of the career of the Mexican bandit who had been killed and beheaded but a few months before its issue was a ninety-page pamphlet which had become so rare that the only testimony to its existence was an entry in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (No. 51,446). Sabin located it in the New York State Library at Albany, which has since been burned. In the meantime, Ridge's version of Murieta's career had been widely read in the third, or revised edition, first issued in 1871 and most readily available to the present-day reader in the reprint put out by the *Evening Free Lance*, of Hollister, California, in 1927. The evidence indicates, in fact, that the important details of many popular accounts and historical versions of the bandit's life, including those of Hubert Howe Bancroft and Theodore H. Hittell, have been drawn largely from this revised edition of Ridge's narrative. However, until recently no one has been able to state how many of these details were found in Ridge's original version. Since seventeen years elapsed between the appearances of the original and the revised editions of the book—years during which the Joaquin legend had grown with a number of retellings—it was possible that Ridge altered his narrative fundamentally in the revision made just before his death. Thus, how could the historian hope to know how much of the Joaquin story appeared for the first time in Ridge's original narrative?

Uncertainty on this point no longer offers a problem. Recently Mr. Henry Raup Wagner of San Marino acquired what is probably a unique copy of the original edition of Ridge's *Joaquin Murieta*. He has very kindly allowed it to be examined for this paper. Its importance to the student of the most interesting of western legends cannot easily be overestimated. The evidence in newspapers and military records concerning Joaquin is both meagre and contradictory, and there is every reason to suppose that the first book account of the bandit did more to fix the outline of the legend than any actual events in social history.

A careful examination of Ridge's first edition is essential in the study of the growth of the Murieta legend. This first edition throws light, also, on the

authenticity of the *Police Gazette*, or "Carmela-Clarina" account, which appears to have been the source of many Latin-American versions of the legend. When this version appeared in 1859, Ridge charged in the Grass Valley press that it was a plagiarism of his book; and it is apparently to this version that he referred when, in the author's preface to the 1871 edition, he wrote: "A spurious edition has been foisted upon unsuspecting publishers and by them circulated, to the infringement of the author's copyright and the damage of his literary credit—the spurious work, with its crude interpolations, fictitious additions, and imperfectly designed distortions of the author's phraseology, being by many persons confounded with the original performance." The similarities in content and phraseology between the *Police Gazette* version (1859) and Ridge's revised version (1871) are sufficient to establish a close relationship between the two, but until Ridge's first account could be examined, there was no way to prove that the writer of the *Police Gazette* version pirated his story from Ridge. One could as easily contend that Ridge borrowed extensively from the *Police Gazette* version in making his revision. An examination of the first edition, however, substantiates beyond question Ridge's charge of plagiarism; the *Police Gazette* version is based upon Ridge's account, altered in sequence, occasionally garbled in text, and amended in many ways. It is probable, therefore, that the publishers of Ridge's revised history of Murieta considered the *Police Gazette* version to be so patently based upon Ridge's earlier book that they looked upon it as the second edition, and therefore called the 1871 version the third. There is no record of any other second edition of Ridge's book.

The first edition of Ridge's *Murieta* was issued as a booklet with yellow paper covers. Titled "The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit," by Yellow Bird, it was published by W. B. Cooke and Company in San Francisco in 1854 and was copyrighted by Charles Lindley and John R. Bridge (sic). It contains two Anthony and Baker lithographs, one representing Murieta and one Captain Harry Love. Although its ninety pages tell approximately the same story as that of the well-known third edition, many interesting minor differences appear. A collation of the two follows.

Material in the First Edition Not Included in the Third*

Page 2: The first edition opens with a fairly long publisher's preface followed by a short editor's preface. The publisher's preface gives a much more detailed account of John Rollin Ridge's life among the Cherokees than is found in the revised edition. It speaks heatedly of the white man's treachery

*The page numbers refer to the 1927 reprinting of the revised or third edition, put out by the *Evening Free Lance*, of Hollister, California, with the cover title of "California's Age of Terror: Murieta and Vasquez," included with which is the story of the "Crimes and Career of Tiburcio Vasquez."

to the Cherokees, tells in melodramatic fashion of the assassination of Ridge's father and grandfather by members of a rival faction among the Indians, and hints at the bereaved son's attempts to avenge his family's wrongs. Then it openly states that the half-savage author with his early taste of persecution and violence is particularly suited to tell the story of Murieta, and ends with the words:

> The following production, aside from its intrinsic merit will, no doubt, be read with increased interest, when it is known that the author is a *Cherokee Indian,* born in the woods—reared in the midst of the wildest scenery—and familiar with all that is thrilling, fearful, and tragical, in a forest life . . . The perusal of this work will give those who are disposed to be curious, an opportunity to estimate the character of Indian talent. The aboriginal race has produced great warriors, and powerful orators, but literary men—only a few.

The editor, in his short preface, states that, although the book was written for historical purposes, it was hoped that it would also serve to defend the reputation of the Mexicans. The reader is assured that the author was not reckless but had respect for authorities: "In the main, it will be found to be strictly true."

Page 12: The sentence in the revised version reading, "Seven men were murdered within three or four days. . . ." is enclosed in quotation marks in the original, the verb is "have been" instead of "were," and the quotation is ascribed to the Marysville *Herald* of November 13, 1851.

Page 14: After the paragraph ending "filling the heaven with his solemn presence," in the original edition Ridge inserted his poem, "Mt. Shasta, Seen from a Distance." A footnote states that the poem was written by Yellow Bird in 1852. The poem, omitted from all later versions of the *Murieta,* holds the position of honor in Ridge's collected poems.

Page 27: After the sentence ending "and were excessively glad to see him," the first edition carries a statement that Joaquin verified from Three-Fingered Jack the rumor that the latter had burned a house and had committed a particularly gruesome murder.

Page 43: After the paragraph ending "each one had a tale to tell of hair-breadth escapes and daring deeds," the first edition contains a passage in which a bandit, Valenzuela, relates one of the bloody deeds of Padre Jurata at the battle of Cerro Gordo, during the Mexican War. The presence of this item bears out further Ridge's contention that the *Police Gazette* Murieta was based upon his story, for one of the principal means of expanding the 1859 version was through inclusion of anecdotes about Padre Jurata.

Page 65: After the sentence describing the burning of the robbers' huts, ending "its sound roared among the mountains for miles around," the first edition includes the sentence: "Joaquin saw and heard it with a laugh. 'If they could only throw *us* into it now,' said he, 'it would be fine.'"

Material Added in the Revised Edition

In revising his account of Murieta, though Ridge made no major alterations in his text, he added a number of episodes and expanded others. These revisions are listed below in two groups: first, the notable changes in narrative, second, the minor alterations in wording.

Notable Changes in the Narrative

The title has been changed from "The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit" to "The History of Joaquin Murieta; the King of California Outlaws, Whose Band Ravaged the State in the Early Fifties."

In the revised edition the nom-de-plume, "Yellow Bird" (Ridge's Cherokee name), has been discarded and the name of the author is given as John R. Ridge.

In the revised edition the narrative has been divided into chapters, and summaries have been provided at the head of each chapter. The original had no chapter divisions.

Page 3: The two opening paragraphs have been altered slightly in wording, but the meaning remains unchanged.

Page 3-4: The two paragraphs telling of Joaquin's early life in Sonora and his love for Rosita have been added in the revised edition. They open with, "The first considerable interruption in the general smooth current of his existence," and end with, "and the trip was made with expedition."

Pages 5-6: The account of the indignities put upon Joaquin by the Anglo-Saxon miners, ending in the ravaging of Rosita, has been expanded and dramatized with use of dialogue in the revised version. The original states simply that Joaquin was driven from his property and that his mistress was attacked; e.g., "They tied him hand and foot, and ravaged his mistress before his eyes. They left him, but the soul of the young man was from that moment darkened." (His mistress is not mentioned by name until much later in the narrative, when, on page 31, she is called Rosita, sister of Reyes Feliz.) In the revised version the section of four paragraphs starting "One pleasant evening" and ending "for a more northern portion of the mines" is the expanded account of Joaquin's persecution.

Pages 7-8: Ridge has again enlarged his story of Joaquin's persecution, here adding detail and dialogue to the episode of the hanging of the half-brother and the whipping of Joaquin. The short original version reads:

> He had gone a short distance from Murphy's Diggings to see his half-brother, who had been located in that vicinity for several months, and returned to Murphy's upon a horse which his brother had lent him. The animal proved to have been stolen, and being recognized by a number of individuals in the town, an excitement was raised on the subject. Joaquin suddenly found himself surrounded by a furious mob, and charged with the crime of theft. He told them how it happened that he was riding the horse, and

in what manner his half-brother had come into possession of it. They listened to no explanation, but bound him to a tree, and publicly disgraced him with the lash. They then proceeded to the house of his half-brother and hung him without judge or jury.

It is to be noted that in the original the whipping preceded the hanging; only in the revised version did Ridge conform entirely to the romantic tradition that a whipping is the last and greatest insult to be brooked by the noble savage.

Page 8: The account of the change of Joaquin's character and his dedication to revenge has been altered in wording but not in detail in the revised version.

Page 10: The paragraph on Reyes Feliz has been expanded over the original to include references to the newly-inserted material on the Sonoran activities of the young Joaquin and Rosita.

Pages 13-14: From "Coming suddenly upon a small tent" to the end of the chapter, the incident recounting the attempt of Buchanan and Bowen to capture Murieta has been greatly expanded, chiefly through the use of dialogue. The dog has been introduced in the revision. In the original, Bowen remained ignorant that the man who shot at him was actually Joaquin.

Pages 15-18: The entire episode telling of Joaquin's rescue of Old Peter's comely daughter when she was about to be ravished by one of the outlaw band has been added in the revision; possibly it was suggested by the account of Peter the Hunter in Alonzo Delano's *Chips of the Old Block*. A section of eight paragraphs starting with "In one of the descends of the banditti" and ending with the close of the chapter has been added in the revision.

Pages 30-34: All of Chapter VI, and the part of Chapter VII up to and including the paragraph on page 34 ending "the guide left them," have been added in the revision. This account of Joaquin's adventures in the Mono Lake region was probably inserted to fill a gap in the chronology and to exploit the wonders of the east slope of the Sierra. It is interesting to note that, although Ridge did not mention the trip over the Sierra in his first edition, a brief account of it appears in the *Police Gazette* version.

Pages 65-66: The account of the fight between Woodbeck and his companion and Joaquin and Three-Fingered Jack has been expanded with addition of detail and dialogue.

Pages 76-77: Several details in the account of the forming of Love's rangers have been added in revision, e.g.: the first paragraph in Chapter XV is new. In the following paragraph the material from "The officers of the law in the different counties" to "The condition of things, in short became intolerable" is new, as is the portion of the last sentence beginning with "the object being to surprise and take" and ending with "by small bodies of men." The list and comments on the rangers have been added, starting with "The following is a list of their names" and ending "At any rate Mr. Herbert was tried and acquitted."

Page 83: The affidavits as to the identity of Joaquin's head do not appear in the original. The text from "Among the numerous affidavits" to "legal authorities of the death of the noted chieftain" has been added in revision.

Minor Alterations in Wording

Page 6: The date "1850" has been inserted after the phrase "in the month of April."

Page 9: The phrase "(an acquaintance of mine, named Burns)" has been inserted after "Said an eye witness of these events."

Page 11: The phrase at the end of the fourth paragraph, reading, "including a few renegade Americans, of desperate characters and fortunes," and all of the following short paragraph, which refers to "frail ones" among the banditti, have been inserted in the revised edition.

Page 18: The note in heavy type at the beginning of Chapter IV, telling of the location of the Arroyo Cantova, was added by the editor of the 1927 reprint.

Page 20: "To secure" at the end of the second paragraph originally read "to get hold of."

Page 21: The sentence which reads, "(This circumstance was related to the writer by a man named Brown, who was intimate with Joaquin, and to whom the robber talked freely)" has been added in the revision.

Page 23: In the final paragraph, which deals with the Digger chief, Sapatarra, three phrases have been added. In the next to the last sentence on the page, "the women included" has been inserted after "naked"; in the following sentence, "dressed for the occasion with a broad-brimmed hat and a bob-tailed red flannel shirt, which gave his ancient and most venerable legs a most unique appearance" has been inserted after "Sapatarra"; and "which was a mixture of Digger and Spanish" has been inserted after "long speech."

Page 41: The sentence reading "(See newspapers of that period.)" has been inserted after " 'I will give $10,000. Joaquin.' "

Page 43: Joaquin's speech in the paragraph opening "He informed them" was expressed in the first person in the original. The following paragraph, about Captain Love, has been added in the revision. The account of the attempt of Gonzales' widow to murder Guerra has been slightly altered in wording.

Page 61: Apparently, when the first edition was written Moreno had not been hanged, for the sentence at the end of the chapter first read, "It is only owing to the delay of the law, that he is not already hung."

Page 64: "G—d d—n that little Sheriff" appeared as "God damn that little Sheriff" in the first edition. (The frontier had changed between 1854 and 1871!)

Page 71: Horsely was written H—— in the original.

Page 72: Added in the revision was the sentence closing the second paragraph: "This was the end of the hitherto very lucky 'Juan,'" for he seems never to have had a surname.

Page 73: Hornitas was spelled Oanetas in the original.

Page 84: John Bigler was Colonel John Bigler in the original.

Conclusions

The collation shows that Ridge in revising the 1854 edition of his account of Joaquin Murieta added no major features to the story. The changes he made were of three kinds: (1) attempts to document his evidence by giving names in full or by referring to contemporary newspapers; (2) the addition of a few minor adventures of Murieta, such as the Mono Lake and Peter the Hunter episodes; and (3), and most significant, an expansion through addition of detail, lurid phrase, and dialogue, of the incidents dealing with Joaquin's early life and persecution. These portions of the legend, emphasizing Joaquin's purity of motives, unjust persecution at the hands of the whites, and dedication to revenge, were to become the prominent parts of the legend as time went on. They are, likewise, the parts most difficult to substantiate and the themes most suited to expansion by Ridge for personal reasons. It is interesting to note that the skeleton of the Murieta legend appeared with all of its parts in the first extensive printed account of the robber's career, and that Yellow Bird's principal changes in his story, when he revised it just before his death, were added to cover the backbone with the flesh of melodramatic fiction.

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THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN IN 1831

A Letter from North Carolina

By Robert J. Parker

Thomas Oliver Larkin, a New Englander with considerable experience in the South, came to California in 1832, where he soon established a profitable business. From 1843 to 1848 he was the United States Consul in the Mexican Province. Much is known of his official life on the Pacific. Rayner W. Kelsey's *United States Consulate in California* is a splendid account of this part of his career. But little is known about the formative period of his life, which, for the most part, was spent in North Carolina. Larkin went to North Carolina in 1821, and, with the exception of a few months in 1824, stayed there for ten years. Fortunately, he has left us what he called "My Itinerary," a sort of a diary covering the years 1821 to 1826.*

The period from 1826 to 1831 has been a dark portion of Larkin's life until now. A new document in the form of an original and hitherto unused manuscript letter written on May 11, 1831, by Larkin, from Long Creek, New Hanover County, North Carolina, to Ebenezer Larkin Childs, his stepbrother in Washington, D. C., throws further light on Larkin's early days. The property of Mrs. Samuel A. Wood of San Francisco, this letter has been lent by her to the California Historical Society. It appears in full below, by the kind permission of Mrs. Wood and with the approval of Larkin's granddaughter, Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin.

The publication of the letter is warranted because the importance of Larkin's business and governmental career in California was in no small part due to his experiences in North Carolina. That he was a great figure in Mexican and American California is a fact familiar to those interested in the period. He displayed shrewdness and common sense in his business dealings. He discharged his official duties with tact and judgment. Undoubtedly his success on the Pacific was largely due to his adventure on the Atlantic.

The document is of further interest because its mere existence corrects a mistake made by people who have written of him before. Both Bancroft and Kelsey give us to understand that Larkin left North Carolina for Boston in 1830. That would mean a year in the North to be accounted for before he sailed on the *Newcastle* for California. Now we know he was in North Carolina in May of 1831 and that he did not plan to go North until June of that year.

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*Edited by the present author as "A Chapter in the Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin," the "Itinerary" was printed for the first time in the California Historical Society *Quarterly* for March and June, 1937. The original manuscript is in the Bancroft Library.

The manuscript gives us a further insight into the philosophy of the man. It is here we learn his normal and sensible ideas concerning marriage. We find he is depressed—that he considers himself old at twenty-nine. We learn that he is reluctant to leave the United States but that he is anxious to get away from the limited portion of North Carolina that he knew. Only three avenues of escape were offered in 1831: to go to Boston, marry a cousin, and settle down; to get an appointment in the Post Office Department through the efforts of Ebenezer; or, to go to Monterey in California.

Having been unsuccessful in his last business venture in North Carolina, Larkin only wanted a chance for a fresh start in a new setting. He preferred to settle permanently in the vicinity of Boston. He was reluctant to desert the United States in order to take advantage of the opportunities open to him in Mexico, primarily because he had developed a preconceived dislike for the people living there. Later, in California, he became extremely friendly with the Hispanic-Americans. He was willing to marry his cousin and to settle down in New England, providing she would help him to meet his outstanding debts. If he could care for her, he would do his level best to make her happy. The marriage did not materialize, and apparently the Post Office appointment was not forthcoming. There remained the last avenue of escape —to go to Monterey.

Of the many letters, official and private, written by Larkin in the years that followed, this one, penned on the eve of his departure for the Pacific Coast, will remain the most human document in his history.

[THOMAS O. LARKIN TO E. L. CHILDS][1]

Long Creek, New Hanover [County] N. C. May 11, 1831

Dear Brother,[2] Your letter dated the 1st was rec'd on the Eighth as it had to come up here by private conveyance. It came to hand early. I sometimes have to keep mine a week before I can send them to Wilmington, so by the postmark you must judge the lenght of their passage. Altho' my name may still be on the books of the Department,[3] Dempsey Harrel my former store clerk at R. [Rockfish, Duplin County, North Carolina] is P. M. [Postmaster.] When I left to begin the Mills[4] he was appointed in my place, or rather some time after. I presume the names of old P. M. stand some time before they are altered so I can not send as I did before. But tho' [through] the W. [Wilmington] p. o. I lately address'd a petition to Mr. Barry[5] to have the P. O. reestablished at Long Creek Bridge (a 1/4 mile from my boarding house). The petition I composed myself, so can not say if its done right, and had 35 subscribers (people here, and in W.). Should you see it you will see the name of John & Joel Walker with whose Mother I board, and a Aleza Spere, a Dr. that boards with us. If your attention to it can forward the busi-

ness you will oblige them. (As to me I shall not stay here long, say till June.) I wrote the petition as I know the facts to be, so Mr. B. can rely on them. The office is small, but the sulky mail from Fayetteville can come by, as well as go as it now does, I venture to say with barely any extra expence. Was I the driver I should prefer it. The Mallets,[6] the contracters, may not. Do not interfere in it, without you can do so consistingly. If you can not, say nothing about it. I was very happy to see your copy of John's[7] letter. I can make no successful enquiries here as to going there.[8] If he can give two farmers $400 each he must be doing well on a farm. That is high wages, the $350 to Sam is small, tho' high for him. As you say they will be a long time deliberating on his stating [starting]. For my part, to think is to act, to know the way is to follow the track. I have nearly made up my mind on this subject. I think I shall leave here in June for Mass. via N. Y., stay in Boston and Lynn untill I can find a passage for S. America and while there study the Spanish language, and finish my studies while on the passage. But whether I should go from Boston to Vera Cruz, then by land across to Acapulco so up to Monterey, or to N. O. [New Orleans] then to Vera Cruz, this must be as circumstances should point out. Here I can not point out nor plan any way. I have for years thought seriously on going to Mexico, and sent some letters to Mr. Gale[9] some years back to carry to John but have heard nothing from [him]. I do not even see my name in his letter. I have no ties that need keep me here, yet it looks like going to the jumping off place of the world to go to Monterey. Still I think I shall go. I was yesterday burning up piles of letters. I saw one where you appear'd to be supprised to think John should have joined the Roman creed,[10] but would not have been had I done it, and in another gave your reasons, "that all that know my determined character would not think that trifles would prevent my accomplising any purpose I was in pursuit of." Now I thought I was of a diffudent stamp too modest by half for this forward world. I now am too old to stand on trifles that shall or should prevent my making myself inderpendent. If I go to Monterey I shall do as the people do, if that will help me. And if I chose to marry there I should do it, providing I had any (say a little) love for the Lady, and the Lady had loot enough for me. A little of the former and much of the latter [and] I'm a married man. I should then try to increas both. All love and no capital will never do for me. I could not live on it. Give me some of each, and I'll try the married life. I do not expect, I need not wish to love or be beloved more than I have, perhaps more than I do. If I can make a fortune by marriage, I will do it providing I can find on being acquanted with the Lady any Small love for her. This I can or can not on some small acquantance. In fact [I] hear I am a Ladies man. Those that I know, I can tell whether I would take or not providing they were wealthy. I either like or dislike a girl on a short acquantance, and I never saw one that I did like on being acquanted with her but I could love at last, tho' this one might always be one in ten. Should I ever

marry, and the Lady would study my disposition and adapt herself to it, we Should be happy, otherwise we should be unhappy. On this I stand and should place my hopes. You may say, [and] proberly will, that marriage is a fear full thing to tamper with, and according as a man's wife is, so will he enjoy life, and that he should marry no one but what he loved above all others, and should never marry for money. All this may be. In fact I do not doubt it and its also a fact that I want to marry and settle near home. This I can not do without the Lady is rich. This I will do if I can at the North find a girl well off that I think I can ejoy myself with thro' life. I do not know a young Lady within fifty miles of W. worth $3000 and I know all the people more or less within that distance. And again to be candid with you, it was on these thoughts that I enquired of you if our cousin was married. And to be more candid, I intend to go home in June or July (tho' not for this purpose), whether I go to Monterey or not. I will then call and see her. We know her to be well accomplished. She is to what I have been used too for nine years. You know her best, and if on seeing her some time, I think I can be fond of her, I shall make a trial. If I do not like her, I would not take [her] with a million. As you have seen her since I have and knew her better, I wish you would dedicate a page to her history, and inform me why she is not married if you know why, and if she has ever had any attention paid to her by lovers, and how many, and who, if any, why they were discharged if you know the reason, her disposition, in fact herself if you know her, in full. You say she is ready "for anyone that will pop the question." Of course you did not mean *any one*, or I would not be that any one. And if you think I should stand a fair trial, if I chose to make one, you may rest assured I should not [pop the question] without she suited me, and there are as many chances against it as for it. I can only say I want to marry, and if I like her, I will take [her], always providing she will take me. I am to old to have or deal in boys love. I am for a match that stands fair in every respect. I go for a happy partner, a convenience to all parties that will enable me to marry, take a house near Boston, cultavate a small farm, live well and happy, and within my income. That can be accomplished if the Lady would go her part. If it was otherwise the fault would be hers not mine. I am for no dieing for love. I love the company of a fine girl above any or every thing. I would do more for them for the pleasure of it, than for any man for money—and thats saying a great deel for me. To be short I can live for a girl, but I can not die for her. If she expected me to put up my head for a target she would be greaviously mistaken. I would not do this to please her. But should any man cross my path let him beware. I have no temper, that is a common saying here about me, but then I have no fear. I rather expect you will [be] supprised to hear in what way I am willing to put what you may call my future happiness at stake, and how quick I would take a wife for the sake of her property. Do not be mistaken. I would not marry poor, nor shall my heart and hand go in

opposite directions. Still I would wish [to] marry that I might settle in the U. S., or rather near Boston. My onset in life is overthrough, my first prospects are blasted, my warmest anticipations are given up, my youngest days gone by, and with them a thousand sweet thoughts, a thousand fond ideas, and all my young and fond expectations. All, all are gone, blasted, withered forever. All I have done is undone. All I have accum[ul]ated has gone to the winds. All I loved I must learn to hate, or forget. The world is still before me 'tis true, and I am not old. But to go to Mexico, to stay there, far from all I hold most dear, far from all my heart has learnt to cling too, and I've encouraged it, then if it [is] ever so to be, at what age shall [I] be when I return, or must I never return.[11] I left home at an early age, went to strange lands, and among stranger people, but I was under the law I was taught to obey in my invancy, under the Government I gloried in. But now I must seak another people, another Nation, unlearn my native langauge, forget my Mother tongue, and learn a langauge spoke by a people that I always dispised and detested. Think you I will not do much to avoid all this. Yet if I can not [do] better I will do all this. Therefore give me a full account of our Cousin, your opinion, and that right openly too, of her, and what you think of my trying to obtain her hand, and my prospects if I try. If I should go home, as I expect to, I will see her, and if I think I can love I will soon tell her, not that [I] think I can but that I do, and that very soon. If she falls not before the eloquence of my voice [hole in the manuscript; one or two words missing] who has more tongue, more flattery, more confidence in himself (a Lady told me last week [hole in the manuscript; one or two words missing] I could get any one) more brass & perseverence may try next. If I can not admire the Lady's [hole in the manuscript; one or two words missing] have none of her. If I do try, and she will believe one half I say, she [is] mine. Its very likely that She may not answer my expectations at all. It is also likely my affairs may be in the way. My debts are a trifle. $1500[12] at most may pay them, and if I have justice done me here by some person, less than that will do it. I shall have $2000 or 3000$ against me, according to how a certain person does with a part of my affairs, and my creditors would willingly take one half. I give up certain property by their wish to this certain person to do such & such things. He may not do it. If he does not, the fault is there [theirs] as well as mine in his having it. Therefore I shall think it no injustice to pay them but a part. And I may yet get off with less than a $1000. Now with a capital of $3000, I could get clear of debts and have this Same Sum left in two years by the speculations on the part I did not pay away. Therefore could I succeed with the Lady on all other scores, She need not back out on this. I expect you never heard Matrimony decanted on in this business like stile, as this whole letter reads, but I learnt it hear. Courtship here are but of a few months duration. The second or the third visit concludes the business. They *sometimes* fall in love to much to forget in six months or so. Those

that are turn'd off soon talk of it as a common affair. I knew several that have heard the Nay a half a dozen times. I know some who have courted two girls in a month, and both turn'd him off. I knew one that two sisters turn off the same evening, one girl that turn of [off] three brothers in one family, two Brothers each of two families, making seven. I know of three cases where the desponding lovers wrote to girls for their consent and they had never seen each other. I do not think there is a man (a native) here of my age that has not been married or discharged. There may be 1 in 100. Do not think I am going [to] follow this plan. My first after this is my first altogether. Love here is all a matter of mony or moonshine. I went to a wedding last week at a house I never before see, and had never spoke to any of the family. I and others that came from a distance was not invited. Young men do not stand for an invitation, without they live close by. They danced till breakfast & once by the Bride request I made up a set afterward, with her for a partner. Altho uninvited I opened the Ball that night with her. This is not common. The groom and gro'msmen ought to do it. Yet I did it. It supprisd myself and many others. If I had been told the day before that I should have done [it], I should not have believed it. The Brother & Mother belonged to the Methodis church and forbid the company's dancing. The Bride told me if I would persuade them to let us dance, she would open the dance with me for her partner, and I did so, tho' I never see them before. Uninvited[13] men generly wait to see if they are welcomed. I began a conversation with the Bride soon after she was married [a] half hour or so. (Soon as we could eat supper). I did not get introduced at all, but she knew my name and had for years, and all about me. We liked each others company. I say *we*, because I have a right too I think. And while she was up till 2 o clock or so, I had more of her Sweet company than the Groom. Had I been him & he me, there would have been a squable. (They were both in good curcumstances and standing). She danced often with me, and told me she was sorry it was to be our last party together, as she was going 40 miles [to] where he lived. I of course was more sorry. When we parted next morning, she to go one way, I another, she looked so fair, her lips so tempting, and seem to ask for a Kiss, I could not refuse, & so parted. With a kiss and a press of the hand I left her. A Gentleman told me next day that if he had been the husband he would have told me to take her with me. Would you? I began this to write about John, and my going to M. but I have said but little. I think he is doing well and I really think I could, and I flatter myself I could [do] better. If I like this cousin, and can get her, I will not go. If not I shall in the fall. So then fairwell to the U. S. I shall lose you for a correspondent, at least but seldom. I do not like that. Your letter was a long one but still I wish it had been longer. I shall write this week to Par about going home,[14] to H. Price & Co. in Boston to hear of Mr. Gale, if he is there, and to know more about M. and to correspond with him about it, tho' I may be readdy to go to B [Boston] by the

time I hear from Price. With your letters I rec'd one from Maria.[15] She appears in much sorrow. Mr. B.[16] left a will, wrote a few hours before he died, leaving her all, a Negro Woman & child, a Cotten gin, a house & lot and 11 acres of Land, in town I presume, his goods & debts. The goods are to be sold. All is in the care of his Brother by her request. After his debts are paid she haves [has] the ballance. She can not tell what it will be. George is going into another store. If this Brother has not been at the South to long it may do well. Admn. [Administrators] are apt to take the property and give the heirs the pr ct. Write soon as you can, say in a day or two after receiving this. My main thoughts are now on the M. trip. That is my only view at present. I shall stand the Election 2d tuesday in June for the Inspectors place. If I get it, and its uncertain, I shall go home and come back to it If I please, tho' not if I can find my way to M. from Boston. Par & Uncle Wm offer'd me 100$ each some time back. That will carry me there. Still I hope that our Cousin will stop me, so write in full about her. I do not like the relationship between us, I need not tell *you* that, but that shall not be to much in the way if I find nothing else is. For with all her wealth I will not offer myself if I can not endure her. But I [I'll] try too. I will write more hereafter, more fully about her when I see her. I am much supprised to hear of Eben L. drinking. Did not know it. Has he spent all. Is he like to do it. Think I must now stop. Home you have as many lines as you sent. Believe I beat you by 30 lines. Hope you can read it all. Considering I wanted room for more important subjects think I have taken up to much about the wedding story. But I must trifle a little, even in my gravest moments. I can not make head or heals of the Secetory's letters. Do explain what made them quit. Still [go] for Woodbury,[17] go the whole hog for him and those that hold him up. Dont fear asking. Don't be [a] begot [bigot]. Ask twice for yourself, where you do once for any body else. Get me in if possible, tho' don't push to much at first. When you at [are] purser cant I be clerk. Had rather be under Uncle Sam than in Mexico. So ask when you can, but dont [two words effaced by seal, probably "sing too"] loud to hurt yourself. Dont keep in the back ground. Recollect [he] who says nothing [two words effaced by seal, probably "gets nothing".]. Big Fishs memory want jogging often.[18]

Yours Oliver

Thomas O. Larkin to E. L. Childs

North Carolina May 1831

[Addressed on back]

Mr. E. L. Childs

City Washington

D. C.

NOTES TO THOMAS OLIVER LARKIN IN 1831

1. In the preparation of this document for publication dashes used in the original manuscript have been replaced by commas and periods and in a few instances commas or periods have been added or eliminated in order to make the meaning clear. Capitalization has been made to conform with the above alterations. There has been no change made in the spelling or the remaining sentence structure.

2. Ebenezer Larkin Childs to whom this letter is addressed was born May 6, 1799. He was appointed to a position in the Post Office Department during the time of President Andrew Jackson. Later for many years he was Assistant Postmaster General He was both a cousin and a stepbrother of Thomas Oliver Larkin.

3. Post Office.

4. Apparently Larkin's venture in the sawmill business was not as successful as his other undertakings.

5. William T. Barry of Kentucky, a warm personal friend of President Andrew Jackson. He served as Postmaster General during the two administrations.

6. Mallet brothers of Fayetteville were the contractors for the carrying of the U. S. mails. According to Larkin, the Mallets owned or had control of all of the stages in North Carolina with possibly the exception of the northern counties.

7. John B. Cooper, an American trader and half-brother of Larkin, came to Monterey in 1822, married a sister of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, and soon enjoyed a profitable business.

8. Monterey, California.

9. William Alden Gale was a Boston trader and pioneer in the hide and tallow trade. He came to the Pacific coast many times. He married Marcelina Estudillo.

10. John B. Cooper entered the Roman Catholic Church on his marriage with a Vallejo.

11. From 1850 to 1853 Larkin and his family were in New York and New England.

12. In the manuscript "$2500" is crossed out and "$1500" is written over it.

13. In the manuscript the word "people" is crossed out.

14. Larkin's home was Charlestown, Mass., near Boston.

15. Maria Oliver Childs was a cousin and a stepsister of Larkin. She married Elijah Bigelow of Waltham, Mass.

16. Elijah Bigelow of Waltham, Mass.

17. Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was Secretary of the Navy during President Andrew Jackson's second administration.

18. President Jackson removed the Calhoun element from his cabinet at the time of his second administration. Van Buren and Eaton started the ball rolling by handing in their resignations early in April of 1831. The rest of the cabinet had to follow suit. As the new cabinet was being selected, Ebenezer Larkin Childs had hopes of being rewarded for his loyalty to the President. Larkin hoped his stepbrother could get an appointment for him also. Evidently Ebenezer was successful and later became Assistant Postmaster General; but apparently he was unable to find a position that suited Larkin.

IS THE DRAKE PLATE OF BRASS GENUINE?

By R. B. Haselden*

Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Mr. Douglas S. Watson described, in a special number of the California Historical Society *Quarterly*,† the sensational discovery of "Drake's Plate of Brass," which, according to contemporary accounts, Sir Francis Drake posted on June 17, 1579, at an anchoring place somewhere on the northern coast of California, claiming the country for Queen Elizabeth. These two papers are followed by excerpts from Hakluyt's *Voyages*, the "Anonymous Narrative" (a manuscript in the British Museum), and *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*. The illustrations include a full-sized reproduction of the tablet itself (obverse and reverse), two maps of the region where the plate was found, and a reproduction of a vignette from the Hondius map showing, for purposes of comparison, the *Portus Novae Albionis*.

The plate described by Professor Bolton and Mr. Watson is of solid brass, about five inches high by eight inches wide, and an eighth of an inch thick. It was found by Beryle Shinn in the summer of 1936, in Marin County, California. The inscription reads:

BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS
IVNE 17 1579
BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
SVCCESSORS FOREVER I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
MAIESTIES KEEPEING NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.

FRANCIS DRAKE

(HOLE FOR SILVER SIXPENCE)

The importance of this discovery and its historical significance make it essential that the utmost care be taken to establish the genuineness or expose the spuriousness of this remarkable relic. It is hoped that the following questions, which are suggested without prejudice, will command careful atten-

*Curator of Manuscripts, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

†Vol. XVI, No. 1, Part 2, March, 1937; reprinted in book form as *Drake's Plate of Brass*.

tion, and that due consideration of certain points proposed for study will not be obscured by an uncritical enthusiasm.

Neither Professor Bolton nor Mr. Watson mentions any test to which the plate has been put, or the name of any specialist who has examined it, with the exception of "an experienced sea-captain who examined the plate [and] expressed the opinion that it might have been cut out of a brass track of a gun carriage." (Whether the experienced sea-captain had ever seen a gun carriage of the period was not stated.) Surely the profound interest aroused by such a spectacular discovery justifies, indeed demands, a thoroughgoing investigation, not alone for the satisfaction of the skeptic but to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, the authenticity of this tablet.

The following points are offered as tentative suggestions toward a scientific examination of the plate itself:

1. *The Metal:* Was this brass plate originally rolled or hammered? Was it originally rolled and later hammered to give it the appearance of age? An analysis by a qualified metallurgist should be made in order to determine also whether or not the tablet is of 16th-century brass, made with calamine, or brass of a later period, made with zinc.

2. *The Writing:* The writing should be studied, and compared with similar inscriptions of the period. For example, were the letters *N* and *M* usually made with two or three vertical strokes topped by a horizontal line, as on this plate? What other examples are known of this particular form? Are the *N*'s and *M*'s attempts to reproduce miniscule cursive letters? If so, why are the majority of the letters Roman? Would one expect an inscription in Roman letters at this date? It would also be well to investigate the process which was used to produce the incisions in the plate. Were they hammered out or scratched?

3. *The Date:* Is the manner of writing the date (June 17 1579) and its position on the plate what would be expected in a record of the 16th century?

4. *The Orthography:* Except for the addition of *E* at the end of certain words, does the orthography contain a single characteristic Elizabethan form? Though spelling inconsistencies were characteristic of the period, variations in word forms frequently occurring in a single document, it is curious that the distinctly modern spelling of the words *England, king, queen, whole,* and *it* (for example) all occur within such a limited space. Incidentally, Drake spelled the same words in his manuscripts, *Yngland, Kyng, quene, hooll,* and *yt*. It may be objected that Drake himself did not write the inscription—that a member of the crew did the actual work—but it would seem that Drake must have at least directed the proceedings. Again, it is strange that the maker of the plate was so successful in the spelling of such difficult words as *successors* and *possession* and yet slipped up over the word *her* (spelled *herr*), and left out a *d* in *and*. In view of this inconsistency, the bizarre spelling of *herr* could hardly be attributed to a foreign sailor attached to Drake's ship.

5. *The Erosion:* The extent of erosion on the tablet and the effects of weathering during three and a half centuries should also be carefully studied. A scientific analysis should be made of deposits on the surface or in the grooves, and any other chemical reactions which may appear should be investigated. A microscopical examination of the edges of the letters would tell a great deal. Do they show signs of erosion or wear, or are they sharp?

Professor Bolton writes on the circumstantial evidence in support of the authenticity of the plate:

> If the Drake Plate is bogus the hoax was perpetrated by someone who not only had studied *The World Encompassed* minutely, but who also had a knowledge of ship fittings and even of spikes. Anyone clever enough to have made a counterfeit tablet as convincing as the one just discovered would have been clever enough to market it at an impressive figure. A fraudulent plaque might be expected to have a more skilfully executed hole for displaying the coin. For who, from the description, would imagine so crude and jagged an aperture through which to display the image of the Queen? Finally, since Drake's Bay has been so long regarded as the site of Drake's landing, a bogus tablet presumably would have been planted near that place, or, if the hoax were recent, perhaps near Bodega Bay, and not near San Francisco Bay, which has long been rejected as the site of Drake's landing place.

It is perfectly obvious that if this is a hoax, it was perpetrated by someone who knew *The World Encompassed*. But a number of people must have had that knowledge, or been able to obtain it in San Francisco, for as Professor Bolton says, "For years I have been telling my students* to keep an eye out for Drake's Plate and the silver sixpence bearing the image of Queen Elizabeth." It is quite possible that a hoax was perpetrated without any thought of monetary gain whatsoever. The fact that the plate tallies in a most astonishing way with Fletcher's account does not at all preclude fraud, but is, in itself, enough to give rise to suspicion. One might even argue that since the contemporary versions do not agree (Fletcher describing the plate as "of brasse" and the "Anonymous Narrative" as "of lead"), the latter version is more likely to be the accurate one, inasmuch as Drake himself called Fletcher, "ye falsest knave that liveth." Finally, Professor Bolton accounts for the plate's being found near San Francisco Bay by the supposition that Indians might have carried it from Bodega Bay or Drake's Bay (where Drake is usually thought to have landed). It now appears that there was no need to rationalize in justification of the tablet's location, for according to a later announcement by the California Historical Society, William Caldeira, an Oakland chauffeur, is said to have found the plate in 1933 about a mile and a half east of Drake's Bay. He told his employer, Leon Bocqueraz, and also his wife, but they paid little attention, so Caldeira tossed the plate to the roadside near the place where it was afterwards found by Shinn. Why he carried this plate

*Professor Bolton expressly states that Mr. Shinn was not one of his students. According to newspaper accounts, the finder received $3,500.

about with him and chose to dispose of it at this particular spot is not explained.*

Fraudulent metal tablets of this sort are by no means uncommon. A number of them (although manufactured by a different technique) have been discovered from time to time in various parts of California, and the writer has seen a forged plate which was "discovered" in New Mexico. Of course, innumerable frauds of a similar nature have occurred in Europe, some even purporting to date from prehistoric times.

If this find can be conclusively verified, California must be congratulated on the possession of such a priceless treasure. Until further evidence is forthcoming, however, judgment on the authenticity or otherwise of this discovery must be suspended.

*See California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, June, 1937, p. 192.

THE DRAKE STATUE ON PLYMOUTH HOE, PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND

From a photograph presented to the Society by Mr. James L. Palmer, of Plymouth.

SOME NOTES WITH REGARD TO DRAKE'S PLATE OF BRASS

By Allen L. Chickering

Since the announcement, on April 6 of this year, of the discovery of the Drake "Plate of Brass," much controversy has arisen involving its authenticity. Numerous questions have been formulated concerning its metallic composition, its spelling and other matters, such as the methods used in inscribing the message which it bears. As a means of helping to clear up some of these points, the following notes may be of service. In no wise do I pose as an expert. My investigations were solely those of an amateur desirous of shedding light so that the truth may be known.

The surprising confusion and difference of opinion regarding the efficacy of an examination of the metal of the "Plate of Brass" has been of great interest to me. While it was in my possession, I was almost overwhelmed with suggestions that this or that man, an expert in metallurgy or chemistry, be asked to test the metal. Prompted by some of these suggestions, I first showed the plate to an eminent mining man of San Francisco. He was convinced of its genuineness and did not seem to think that an analysis of the metal was either necessary or desirable. I next showed it to two well-known San Francisco metallurgists who pointed to the manner in which the metal had been raised alongside the cuts made in making the letters, and to the burnishing brought about by Mr. Shinn's scrubbing, but who thought no examination should be made except by the most eminent metallographer available. But no one was able to direct me to a person with such qualifications. At my request, one of the donor group then submitted the question to the Chase Brass & Copper Works, in Connecticut. He received the following telegraphic reply: "DO NOT KNOW HOW TO SPOT OLD BRASS EXCEPT BY WORKMANSHIP DESIGN MAKERS MARKS SORRY."

Others suggested that the plate be submitted to a commercial assayer, while still another friend thought that if "only a little button" could be cut off of the side of the plate and submitted to the chemist of another large brass company in the East, he could tell all about it. Even Captain Haselden, whose learned article appears in this *Quarterly,* in a letter to Dr. Bolton tells of the difficulties connected with such an analysis. He states in part:

> . . . If an analysis of the brass plate can show that it was made with metallic zinc and shows no impurities that would be expected if calamine were used, then the plate cannot be genuine. Even if, on the other hand, it stands this test, this would not in itself prove the plate's genuineness. As a matter of fact, the preparation of calamine and its use in the manufacture of brass continued right down to the nineteenth century. Even as late as 1858 there were calamine furnaces in use in South Wales. . . .

The difficulty will be to get a metallurgist who has a thorough knowledge of the history of brass founding and who knows what tests should be made and how to make them. He would probably use either some form of chemical analysis or photomicrographs for the study of the crystalline structure, which might mean something to such an expert. The average metallurgist, no matter how skillful, would be useless unless he had a thorough knowledge of the various processes used in making brass during the time of Drake and later. Similarly, it is of no avail to go to a professor of Elizabethan literature, no matter how learned, to decide on the genuineness or otherwise of an Elizabethan document unless that professor has been trained in the scientific methods necessary to obtain such a determination. For example, on receipt of your letter, in order to make a test to see if the average metallurgist was a properly qualified person, I rang up a man I know who is competent to analyze, and he informed me that as far as he knew brass had always been made from pure zinc—in other words, that zinc was always extracted from the calamine before it was used. This of course is entirely wrong.

I have mentioned only a few of the many suggestions which have been made with regard to analysis of either the metal in the plate itself or the deposit on the plate, but I think these are sufficient to convince any reader of the doubt in the mind of a person, holding such a valuable historical item temporarily as a sort of trustee, as to whether he should permit the taking of portions of it for analyses with no more assurance of results than is revealed by the foregoing.

Other interesting questions are the arrangement of the date, the spelling of the words, and the form of the letters on the plate. So far as the date is concerned, whether or not it was correct at the time the plate was prepared to set down "IVNE.17.1579," the fact is that in the notes of Francis Fletcher the same form is used in indicating the date in the margin of his manuscript, the date in that instance being "Nov: 15 1577."[1] In the documents covering the Fenton expedition there are also several instances where the name of the month is written first, as it is on the Plate of Brass. In the Otho manuscripts in the British Museum, the following are written in the margin: "Junii 2° 1582," "Junii 24th 1582,°" "Junii 26. 1582," "Junii 27, 1582," "Julii 20, 1582," "July 21° 1582."[2]

The spelling of the inscription has raised much comment. I confess that when I started to investigate I had very little knowledge of Sixteenth Century English. At the present time, after a considerable study, I have come to the conclusion that nobody did even at that time! I first tried to find instances of spelling like that on the plate in books published during that period; and after some investigation, I did find instances of the same spelling at or about the same time, of all the words except "HERR" and "KEEPEING."

The spelling on the plate of the words "king" and "queen" has been questioned. It has been suggested that the word "king" should have been spelled "kyng," and that the word "queen" should have been spelled "queene," the latter based no doubt on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. I had the good fortune to discuss this matter with Mr. William Cavalier, one of our members, who

showed me two manuscripts entitled "Rotulus Parliamenti" of the reign of Henry VI. These books purport to be the minutes of the British Parliament beginning with the eighteenth year of the reign of Henry VI, 1439, and continuing through the twenty-eighth year of his reign. These minutes are in English, French and Latin, and are in excellent handwriting, although the spelling is quite difficult at times to make out. The word "father," for instance, is spelled "ffadre." In the minutes of Parliament, 18°H.6, I found on one page the word "king" and three lines below the word "kyng." In 28°H.6, page 26, are the words "Kyng your ffadre," while on page 41, in item 48 of the charges against the Duke of Suffolk, both "kings" and "kinges"[3] appear, and the British Book of Common Prayer, published in 1548, has "king of kynges." In the minutes of Parliament 23°H.6 in the paragraph labeled 19, I found the following uses and spellings of the words "king" and "queen": "Lord King Henry the Sext," "by the Kyng's commandemt," "Our said soveraigne Lord the Kyng," "Our Soveraign Lady the Quene," "High & Mighty Prince King of Cesile," "the Kyng's obaissence" and "the Kings abeissance."

The spelling of the word "queen" is as varied as that of the word "king." The Oxford Dictionary reveals several spellings at or about the time the plate was set up: in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, 1592, "Queen"; in Shakespeare's *Love's Labor Lost*, 1588, "Queene of Queenes"; in the Buccleugh Manuscript, 1572, "Quein"; and in the Gerarde Herbal, 1597, "Quene." A reference to the manuscript of the minutes of Parliament, written more than one hundred years earlier, shows only two spellings, namely, "queen" and "quene." The former spelling is most common. I should say that it is used about twice to one use of "quene."

The most notable principle to be drawn from the examination of these minutes of Parliament is the utter and complete disregard of any principle of spelling whatever except one which would be approximately phonetically correct. For example, within nine lines, 18°H.6, p. 10, the word "sovereign" is written in the same handwriting with three separate spellings as follows: "Soveraine," "soveraign" and "sovereign." On one page (28°H.6, page 132) the word "France" is spelled in three different ways, in each instance accompanied by the word "king": "King of ffrance," "King of ffraunce," and "King of France." In 28°H.6, at page 158, we find "Cardinal of England then Chanceller of Ingland." Another instance of entire disregard of any standard of spelling is found in connection with the word "realm." In 18°H.6, page 8, it is spelled "roialme." About twelve lines below, it is spelled "realme," one line below that, "roialme," and on the next page, "Realme." On page 117, line 19, it is spelled "reame," and on page 120, line 3, "roiaume," although the writer comes back to a previous spelling in the next line when he spells it "roialme." Another favorite for spelling diversity is the modern word "quit." This is spelled "quyte," "quite," "Quyete" and "quiet" in vari-

ous places. The word "dozen" in 18°H.6, page 112, on one page is spelled in line 6 "dozenne," in line 7 "dossenne," in lines 13 and 14 "dosenne" and in line 24 "dosen." In 20°H.6, at page 144, in line 14, we find "wymmen" and in line 25 "women." But we do not need to go outside of words on the plate to obtain illustrations of the entire lack of uniformity of spelling. In 18°H.6, page 51, the word "her" is spelled "her" in line 6, "here" in line 7, "hur" in lines 10 and 11, "her" again in line 13, "hur" twice in line 20, while in line 22 we find "bring her to hur husband." If anything further were needed to illustrate the lack of any definite rules of spelling, this latter quotation supplies it. As a result of my study, I am firmly of the belief that no attention whatever was paid to spelling so long as the pronunciation of the result was substantially like that to which the writer was accustomed. Many other instances could be cited. The word "bee" occurs many times, not only in books but in the "Rotulus Parliamenti." In this last mentioned manuscript the word "keeping" is usually spelled "kepeing," while the author of the plate put in an extra "e" with the same phonetic result. The word "kingdome" and the word "resigne" are quite in accord with the spelling at the time.

I feel that I have insufficient information at my command to say much about the shape of the letters on the plate. Reference to the excellent picture of the plate in Part 2 of the March issue of the California Historical Society *Quarterly* will reveal that the letters "M" and "N" are formed by making a horizontal line with two perpendicular lines running down from it in the case of the "N" and three in the case of the "M." Personally, I have never seen anything like it. One thought that has come to me as an explanation, which I submit for what it is worth. This Plate of Brass is quite small in size, approximately five by eight inches. It contains a large number of words and, of course, a much larger number of letters, which it was necessary to crowd into a small space, especially since the full size of the plate could not be used owing to the necessity of the hole to reveal the sixpence in the lower right hand corner and space for the signature of the Commander alongside. The metal of the plate was soft, and if an "N" or an "M" had been made in the usual form, it seems to me that there would have been danger that the cuts to evidence the diagonal lines in these letters might have merged with the perpendicular lines. No doubt some reliable sources in England can assist us in this matter, and to that end we have written requesting assistance.

It occurs to me to note also that the text of the inscription which appeared in Part 2 of the March, 1937, *Quarterly* was not complete. In the plate there is a period after the word "IVNE," and after the figures "17" and "1579," and also after the word "KEEPEING." There is also a large letter "C" or "G" before the words "FRANCIS DRAKE." The title used in connection with Drake in *The World Encompassed* is "Generall." Perhaps, therefore, this letter is a "G" and an abbreviation for "General." Again it may be a "C" and an abbreviation for "Captain."

It has occurred to me that the hole has a bearing on the genuineness of the plate. It is quite obvious to one who has examined the plate in connection with an Elizabethan sixpence that the sixpence, instead of being under the plate, was actually in the plate. As quoted in Mr. Watson's article in Part 2 of the March QUARTERLY, the Hakluyt version says:

together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of sixe pence of currant English money vnder the plate,

while *The World Encompassed* says:

together with her highnesse picture, and armes in a piece of sixpence currant English monie, shewing it selfe by a hole made of purpose through the plate.

The first mentioned account indicates that the sixpence was under the plate, and I had never conceived from reading it that the sixpence was in the plate, yet the manner in which the jagged edges of the hole have been hammered to fit the sixpence, and the way that an Elizabethan sixpence will fit into the plate, proves to me conclusively that the sixpence was in the plate and not under it. I cannot conceive of any faker inventing any such arrangement in the face of the two accounts.

It is obvious from the wording on the plate that if it is fraudulent it was prepared from *The World Encompassed*. If for no other reason, the fact that the plate is of brass proves this, as the other two accounts do not agree, one, the "Anonymous Narrative," referring to it as a plate of lead, and the other, Hakluyt, referring to it as "a plate." Yet, in spite of the fact that the wording closely follows the description in *The World Encompassed*, there are eight words on the plate which are not in the description of the plate in that book. The description in *The World Encompassed* refers to the "free giuing vp of the province and kingdome," while the plate reads "freely resigne their right and title in the whole land." It is true that the *The World Encompassed*, several pages before the description of the plate, in describing the supplications of the natives that Drake take possession of the kingdom, says: "making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title in the whole land"; but it would hardly seem to me that anyone, in preparing a fraudulent plate based on a description in a book over three hundred years old, would insert eight words, taken from the book it is true, but not from the description of the plate, especially where it was considerable of a job to get so many words and letters on so small a plate.

Another question: If the plate is genuine, as I believe it is, who prepared it? Few people of the time of Drake could read or write. It is possible, therefore, that no more than two or three individuals in the entire Drake party could do so, and that Drake himself and Francis Fletcher were two of this very small number. Evidence points to Chaplain Fletcher, for he was apparently the official monument maker and plaque engraver. After Robert Winterhey and Oliver, a master gunner, were killed by the Patagonians at Port San Julian, and Thomas Doughty was beheaded, Fletcher wrote:

Thomas Doubty . . . being dead was buried neere the sepulcher of those w:ch went before him vpon whose graues I sett vp a stone. whereon I engraued their names. the day of their burialls the month & the yeare for a monument. . . .[4]

He also records that on the 6th of September, 1578, after passing through the strait into the "South Sea":

. . . so were wee resolued there to stay a while to do as wee had don to our good God & in deuty to her majesty in other places & to haue sett vp a monumt for her Highnes vpon the cape for a wittnes of our Passing that way & arival at that place w:ch monument I had engrauen in mettle for the same purpose the like of that w:ch you may see in the End of this Booke but it seemed not good to god wee should accomplish that tyme in this place. . . .[5]

A few days later, on one of the "Southerly Ilands" (probably the one elsewhere called Elizabeth Island):

My selfe being landed did with my Boy trauill to the Souther most point of the Iland to the Sea one that Syde. Where I found that Iland to be more Southerly three partes of a degree than anny of the Rest of the Ilands. Where haueing Sett vp an [on] End a Stone of som biggnes & w:th such Tooles as I hadd of Purpose euer about mee when I went one shoare. had engrauen her Majestyes name. her Kingdom. the year of Christ & the day of the moneth. I returned againe in som Reasonable tyme to our Company.[6]

If Fletcher, as he himself stated, engraved the names on the monument at Port San Julian, engraved a monument "in mettle" which he had intended to place on the southernmost cape, and "with such Tooles as I hadd of Purpose euer about mee when I went one shoare" engraved the inscription described above, is it not probable that he prepared the inscription on the plate of brass which was nailed to a post as evidence of the taking possession of Nova Albion?

That Beryle Shinn neither made the plate nor was a party to any hoax in connection with it I am thoroughly convinced. On February 28, a few days after Dr. Bolton informed me of the discovery, Mr. Shinn accompanied us to Marin County and pointed out the spot where he had found the plate. After being for over five hours in his company I was convinced that he was manly and straightforward and could not have been capable of such deception. This opinion has been confirmed in subsequent conversations and by inquiring of the firm which has employed him for the past eight years. His knowledge of California history and the literature of Drake's voyage is also far from sufficient for him to have worded the plate as it is, and he had no idea as to the money value of such an important historical relic.

The statement of William Caldeira, the chauffeur who, after the announcement of the discovery of the plate, came forward and said that he had previously picked up a plate which resembled the picture which had appeared in an Oakland newspaper, I am convinced was also made in entire good faith. He could have made this statement only in the interest of truth, for he had no possibility of financial gain from it. Mr. Bocqueraz remembers that Caldeira showed him the plate, but at the time he was so tired from a

long day's hunting that he did not examine it but remarked that it was probably something from a ship. He had intended to look at it more closely after dinner that night, when he had rested, but he forgot to ask for it and Caldeira did not draw it to his attention again. A rancher on the property where the chauffeur claimed to have discovered the plate reports that Caldeira has recently been over there with tools to dig, in the hope of finding the sixpence which was originally in the plate.

Although I am in no sense an expert, the more I have studied the plate itself and the writings of the period, the more I am convinced of its genuineness, and I hope that the discussion that has arisen since its discovery will be productive of factual evidence which cannot be controverted.

NOTES

1. From a manuscript in the British Museum known as the Sloane MS No. 61, which is understood to be a copy of Fletcher's manuscript "Notes," made by one John or Joseph Conyers in 1677. The California Historical Society has a typewritten copy of this, and it was also printed in *The World Encompassed and Analogous Contemporary Documents Concerning Sir Francis Drake's Circumnavigation of the World with an Appreciation of the Achievement* by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, London, 1926. The pages are unnumbered in the typewritten copy of the MS, but in the printed work the date is on p. 88.

2. Otho MSS E. 8, ff. 127-88, in the British Museum. A typewritten copy is in the library of the California Historical Society.

3. The pages of the "Rotulus Parliamenti," being unnumbered, were counted in order to give the references cited here.

4. Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 125 of the printed work cited in Note 1.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 131. Fletcher goes on to say (p. 132): "Wee being come by Gods Prouidence now to the Southermost cape of the Maine land the west India where as I sayd wee went to sett vp a monument for her Majesty w:^{ch} in my opinion had been fitting being in Just proportion of degrees from the Æquinoctiall to the Southward as England is to the Northward of the same that is 52 degrees Either of them from the Line the Lord prevented vs for Sodainly did arise such a wind that there was no stay to be made at all."

6. *Ibid.*, p. 135. Mr. Henry R. Wagner identifies this island as Henderson Island. (*Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World*, pp. 91-95.)

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO*

Compiled by DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

OCTOBER 22 TO OCTOBER 29, 1855

October 22. The case of Captain Seymour and Messrs. Buddington and Swan, pilots of the *New World*, who on the complaint of Captain Brown, had been arrested for an attempt to commit murder by running the *New World* into the *Defender*, was placed on trial. The nugget of gold weighing 118 ounces, recently found near Campo Seco, coined $1,682.84, and was 929 thousandths fine. In the U. S. Circuit Court, before Judge McAllister, proceedings have been taken to prosecute the master of the Nicaragua steamship *Sierra Nevada* for violating the Passenger Act of March 5, 1855, which provides that if a vessel brings an excess of passengers, the master shall be considered guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine and imprisonment, and also attaches a penalty of $50 for each passenger in excess. It is charged that the *Sierra Nevada*, on her last trip to this port, brought an excess of 320 passengers, making herself liable to pay a penalty of $16,000. The office of the *California Democrat* was serenaded this evening by the Germania Concert Band, which paraded through the city with torchlights. In the Fourth District Court, Judge John S. Hager rendered a decision declaring the trust assignment of Page, Bacon & Co. to Messrs. Parrott & Naglee void and liable to process of the judgment creditors; the assignees are charged to pay the plaintiff judgment with interest and costs out of the funds in their hands.

The Board of Aldermen passed an ordinance which will permit the owners of property on Vallejo Street to open it from Larkin to Laguna Street at their own expense. An ordinance was also adopted permitting the property holders on Mason Street to grade that street between Union and Green streets, at their own expense. The resignations of Aldermen R. Rankin and J. W. Brittan were presented and accepted. Laborers are busily digging away Stockton Street where it crosses the slope of Telegraph Hill and are reducing it to a level with the proper grade.

The ship *Eroclydon*, Capt. William B. Wright, one of the finest specimens of foreign naval architecture ever entering the Golden Gate, arrived from Cardiff in 136 days, with 1750 tons of coal, the largest cargo of this article ever brought to California. She comes consigned to Dickson, De Wolf & Co., and the cargo is for the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. She was built at St. Johns, N. B., in 1854.

October 23. The fine, fast-sailing schooner, *Gen. Pierce*, Captain Cook, left this morning on a trading voyage, bound for the Sandwich Islands and Japan. A report of Thomas D. Greene, City Sexton, printed in the *Daily Alta California*, stated that the number of deaths in the city from October 13 to 20 was 25, the same as the preceding week. F. J. Lippitt, the referee appointed to decide the priorities of the creditors of Adams & Co., so as to settle the terms of a decree of distribution, has docketed twenty-three claims, to the amount of $250,000, and has submitted a learned opinion, according to which, under the direction of the Court, he will proceed to settle the priority of the creditors. In the U. S. District Court, Judge McAllister delivered the opinion of the Court confirming the claims of James and Bernard Murphy to the San Francisco de las Llagas ranch, containing a tract of five square leagues in Santa Clara County. The ship *Alboni*, Captain William A. Barnaby, arrived recently after a passage of 164 days, having left New York on May 10. It took her 90 days to reach Cape Horn, tremendous gales having torn away her sails and sprung her foremast. After passing the Cape, she was becalmed; and because of deaths, illness and accidents, at one time her crew was reduced to two men, the Captain, and two officers. At the meeting of the Board of

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" has been adapted from the *Alta California*, October 22-30, 1855.

Supervisors, the bill of Dr. Gibbons for the cure of the county sick from September 1 to October 23, amounting to $17,125 in county scrip, valuing the same at 50 cents on the dollar, was presented, and after considerable discussion, ordered paid. The bill from Mr. Bruillon, amounting to $800 cash for rent of the Hospital building from June 23 to August 23, and the bills of Mr. Botts and Bishop Alemany for rent of the same building from August 23 to date, were ordered paid either in cash or the equivalent in scrip. An order was introduced and passed discontinuing the lease for the Armory on the corner of Market and Third streets.

October 24. At Miss Susan Robinson's benefit at the Union Theater, Mr. and Mrs. Stark took the leading parts in *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady*. The beneficiary performed the Spider Dance, which was followed by *The Loan of a Lover*, in which Miss Susan and her sister, Miss J. Robinson, appeared. At the Metropolitan, a benefit was given for Mr. George Loder, in which the following artists volunteered their services: Mr. and Mrs. Stark, Mrs. Judah, Mrs. Woodward, Mrs. Wheatleigh, Professor Risley, Mons. D'Evani, and Herr Lottheimer. The performance opened with *Guy Mannering*, succeeded by a fantasia on the violin by Martin Simonsen and a *pas de deux* by Madame Monplaisir and Mons. Espinosa, and an orchestral fantasy arranged by Mr. Loder for the Philharmonic Society; *Katharine and Petruchio* was also given. Mr. Charles R. Thorne made his first appearance at the American in *Don Caesar de Bazan*, supported by the stock company of the theater, which includes Mrs. Judah and Mrs. Thoman. The barque *Hermione* will sail tomorrow for Valparaiso, taking a full cargo of flour to a place from whence we received our supply but a short time since. Reports on the public schools show that the Rincon Point School, No. 1, under the charge of Mr. John Swett, has 436 scholars registered in its three departments—primary, intermediate and grammar; the Happy Valley Public School, No. 2, corner Stockton and Bush, under Mr. James Denman, assisted by 9 teachers, has 560 scholars; Powell Street Public School, No. 3, between Washington and Jackson on Powell Street, under the charge of Mr. E. H. Holmes, with 6 assistant teachers, has an average attendance of not more than 310, although it has reached as high as 440. In the Board of Supervisors a communication was read from J. P. Overton respecting the absolute necessity for the appointment of a keeper to the Brannan Street bridge, it being at this time in bad order. Drs. J. P. Macauley, H. M. Gray, and A. F. Sawyer, were elected visiting surgeons to the County Hospital, and Drs. E. J. Bowie, Charles Bertody, and C. H. Rawson, visiting physicians. A total eclipse of the moon occurred this evening: at 9:20 P. M. the shadow of the earth touched the eastern rim of the moon; at 10:30 the obscuration was complete, the planet being entirely undiscoverable, except by the lurid illumination of the spot where it had disappeared; the obscuration continued until half past twelve, and at half past one it was over.

October 25. The newspapers printed a letter, dated October 24, 1855, and signed by C. K. Garrison, President of Robinson, Seymour & Co., Contractors, stating that the difficulties between the directors and the contractors of the Sacramento Valley Railroad have been amicably settled. Before Judge Freelon, in the Court of Sessions, Robert Cushing, James Hennessey, Edward Simmons, John Lynch, and J. W. Bagley, were arraigned on separate indictments for an assault with knives and pistols on Mr. James P. Casey, in the course of an election riot. The trial was set for Tuesday next. Mr. Willard Southwick, the keeper of the first toll gate on the Mission Road, was tried on the charge of having assaulted and battered Miss Irene McCready on the 8th day of September last, by letting down the toll gate on the horse that she was driving in a buggy. It appeared that the prosecutrix, in company with Miss Rose Cooper, had driven out the Mission Road, and had passed the gate on going out without paying toll; on returning they were attempting to pass the gate again by driving close behind a team that was going through, when Southwick dropped the gate on the horse, felling him to the ground and breaking one of the shafts. After the horse backed out, the buggy was overturned, and Miss Irene tumbled into the ditch and all her finery was spoiled. Mr. Southwick, Miss Irene testified, had not even assisted in extricating her from the mire, whereas, in contrast, the keeper of the outer gate (Mr. Jessup) had even offered to cull

her a bouquet (which piece of gallantry the gentlemen disclaimed). The jury returned a verdict of guilty.

Further reports on the public schools: Union Street School, No. 4, a brick school between Stockton and Kearny streets, with Mr. A. Holmes as principal, and six teachers, is reported to have 725 scholars registered. North Beach School, No. 5, H. P. Carlton, principal, is reported to be in a thriving condition. Spring Valley School, No. 6, reports 200 scholars, but the accommodations for them are said to be entirely insufficient, the house being too small. The Catholic School, in the basement of St. Mary's Church, which has been organized only six weeks, has 313 scholars; Mr. William Hamell is the principal. Summarizing, we get the following figures:

	Boys	Girls	
Public School No. 1	262	174	
" " " 2	336	224	
" " " 3	246	164	
" " " 4	555	170	
" " " 5	No report		
" " " 6	117	85	
Catholic School	153	160	
	1369	975	
Total			2344

October 26. Signor and Signora Caroni of Risley's Vatican performed the feat of walking a tight rope from the ground to the fourth story window of the International Hotel and back. The distance was about 175 feet and the rise nearly 60. The ropes were an inch and a quarter in thickness, placed at a distance of 3½ feet from each other and steadied by 12 "guys." Signor and Signora Caroni are natives of Italy and have nine children. The crowd in attendance was estimated at from eight to twelve thousand people. Mr. McLoughlin has purchased the opposition omnibuses which have been running through the center of the city for some time past, and will take them to Sacramento, leaving but one line of omnibuses in this city. We shall not be surprised if passengers are soon charged 25¢ for a ride, instead of the 12½¢ now being paid. In the Superior Court, before Judge Shattuck, Messrs. Lucas, Turner & Co. have commenced a suit against the city on Street Assessment warrants, to the amount of $100,000. A letter was communicated to the Court of Sessions from E. W. Burr, calling for the abatement of the nuisances from slaughter houses and hog ranches bordering upon the running water on the Presidio Road, between Pacific Street and the Lagoon, stating that within the past week three fatal cases of cholera have occurred in the vicinity of these streams, one of them being his own 19 year old son. The Court has ordered the execution to issue abating the nuisances.

October 27. The barque *George*, a whaling vessel from the Sea of Ochotsk, is at present discharging her cargo at Cunningham's Wharf. She has 1200 barrels of Polar oil and 17,000 pounds of whalebone on board. A large number of Kanakas are engaged in bundling up the bone for shipment to the East, where it brings a much better price than in this city. Next year a considerable number of the whaling fleet may be expected in San Francisco, but at present the rates of repairing and fitting out in this harbor are so much higher than in the Sandwich Islands, whalers go there in preference. Saucelito, among whaling captains, is known as the "Whalers' Bay," and when a beef could be purchased in California for $4.00, as was the case before the Mexican War, there was no scarcity of such vessels in these waters. There are now several extensive [whale] oil firms doing a large manufacturing business in San Francisco. Among them are R. F. Knox & Co., the Pacific Oil Co., Cook, Folger & Co., Fair Haven Oil Co., and Gilbert McCombe & Co., all of which manufacture oil of the best quality in the world and produce something more than 15,000 gallons per month. Five firms are now engaged in the manufacture of adamantine candles. An aggregate of 2,000 tons of shipping is employed out of this port, at the present time, in the whale fishing, to say nothing of the amount of whales taken by boats from the harbors of Monterey, Humboldt, and other ports along the coast. The foundation of the house of the new Pennsylvania Engine Company,

No. 12, has just been laid. The edifice, on the north side of Jackson Street between Kearny and Dupont, will be three stories high and will contain an engine room, reading room and parlor, and in the third story, an armory for the use of the National Guards, and other military companies of the city. The members of California Engine Company No. 4, received their new uniforms by the last steamer. They were manufactured in New York, and cost $1300. In the U. S. Circuit Court, before Judge McAllister, the case of John Gray, indicted for manslaughter on the high seas for killing the mate of the American ship *Levanter*, has raised the question of the admissibility in the Federal courts of negro testimony, a negro seaman having been one of the witnesses. Messrs. Parrott and Naglee, on behalf of the judgment creditors, were appointed to administer the assets of the insolvent banking firm of Page, Bacon & Co.

October 28. The first number of the *Daily American* appeared. It is published by Alexander Bell & Co. and edited by Edward Pollock and Albert H. Clark. It will be devoted to the advocacy of the American party.

October 29. Captain Joseph L. Folsom, deceased, late Quartermaster in California, who was reputed to be a millionaire, is reported a defaulter for upwards of $200,000 of government monies held by him as long ago as 1847 and 1848 when he was paymaster to the California division of the U. S. Army and Acting Collector of the Port of San Francisco. This discrepancy may have originated from a misconstruction of the laws regarding the fees to which collectors of the revenues and paymasters of the Army are entitled. The Government will exact a settlement from the estate. A town called McCartysville [now Los Gatos] has sprung into existence, twelve miles west of San Jose at the base of the Santa Cruz Mountains, on a stream which supplies water to drive numerous mills. The second season of the Union Theater commenced tonight, with Mr. Stark again as manager. At the American, C. R. Thorne took his first benefit, and in both the new piece entitled *The Gondolier* and the elegant comedy of *Don Caesar de Bazan* he took the leading part. Mr. Risley took a benefit tonight at the Vatican. The Immigration Association of California held a meeting in this city and adopted a constitution and by-laws. The Pacific Mail steamship *Sonora*, Captain R. L. Whiting, arrived, having left Panama on October 16, with 824 passengers.

Señora Ignacia Vadugo was tried in the Mayor's Court, charged with abducting an Indian girl alleged to be the property of Louise Mejicas. As there is no bondage in this State, the Mayor concluded to let the girl decide the case by choosing her own mistress, which she did, selecting the lady with whom she had last resided. "Cock-Eye" Fury is again at large, having escaped on Saturday last, while in the hands of the Sheriff of Marin County, awaiting to be tried for the offence of breaking out of the State Prison. He has just served one term in the penitentiary. News was received of the fall of Sebastopol and the triumph of the Allies. The Marion Rifles, on invitation, witnessed the performance of the Misses Gougenheim at the Metropolitan. The sisters were assisted by Messrs. Wheatleigh, Booth, Chapman, Hamilton and Coad. In the U. S. District Court, Hoffman and McAllister, justices, affirmed the decision of the Land Commission confirming the claim of Robert F. Stockton for Potrero de Santa Clara. The same decree was handed down in the following claims: Zodora and Secundino Robles for the Rincon de San Francisquito; John Bidwell, for Los Ulpinos; Tomas Pacheco et al for Potrero de los Cerritos; Domingo Feliz for San Pedro y Buriburi; Juan Martin for Corte Madera del Norte; Juan José Gonzales for San Antonio o El Posadero. In the U. S. District Court, O. Hoffman, Judge, a libel was filed by the California Steam Navigation Co. against the steamer *Defender* for $5,000 damages. The claimants allege that one of their boats, the *New World*, was run into by the *Defender* in Suisun Bay. The vessel was attached on the point of leaving her wharf, but the usual bonds were given and she got off at 5:00 P. M. We understand that a cross libel will be filed against the *New World*. In the Superior Court, D. O. Shattuck, Judge, the ruling against Governor Bigler and the other State Land Commissioners to show cause why they should not be punished for disregarding the judgment of this Court and its order of perpetual injunction was argued during the day and evening; Messrs. Satterlee, Baldwin and Parsons appearing for the plaintiff, and Messrs. Carpentier and Lockwood for the State Commissioners.

(To be continued)

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE LUNCHEON meeting of June 15, 1937, was held in the Western Women's Club. "Twenty-four Minutes in El Dorado," a talking picture which depicted Wells Fargo activities in the banking and express business during the Gold Rush, was shown. G. W. Wickland, Assistant Cashier, who is responsible for the bank's historical collection, introduced the picture with a brief talk regarding the purposes of the museum.

Old mining equipment, Grass Valley at the height of its glory, San Francisco before the rush of ships in 1848 and after, with pictures of the first hand-operated fire engines and also of the first steam fire engine, the pride of the Monumentals, together with the first office of Wells Fargo & Co., built in 1852 of stones brought from China, as well as other offices, of which the one at Columbia still stands, were shown.

The growth of transportation was portrayed by clipper ships, steamers, camels, covered wagons, the Pony Express, the stage coaches and finally the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads, at the completion of which was used the famous "last spike" of solid gold, the most valuable of the bank's historical collection, now kept in its vaults.

On Tuesday, August 17, 1937, Professor Erwin G. Gudde, of the University of California, spoke at the luncheon meeting held in the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on the subject of "Edward Vischer and his First Visit to California in 1842." Edward Vischer was born in Nuremberg in 1809, one of his ancestors being Peter Vischer, a famous painter. He came to Mexico in 1827 as a clerk for a shipping concern, and while on one of his many business trips, met Charles Darwin in Valparaiso.

His first literary work was "Letters of a German from Lima," written in South America. In 1870, a small edition of "Letters of a German from California" was published. These letters had appeared originally in 1842 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, a German newspaper, and contain many accounts of his life in California.

In 1846, he went to China with a cargo of silver and was shipwrecked on an island. The silver was salvaged, and he was saved by Edward Belcher, who took Vischer to Hong Kong, whence he returned to Europe by way of Philadelphia. In 1850, he came back to California, and lived in San Francisco, where he engaged in private banking and the shipping business until his death in 1879.

Apparently it was not until the end of the fifties that he found he was an artist. In 1862, he published a book containing lithographs of Yosemite and the Big Trees. In 1870, his famous "Pictorial of California" was issued, followed in 1872 by "Missions of Upper California," some of which pictures are the only authentic ones extant. All his drawings are of California subjects, and it may be said that "he put California on the map artistically."

LOIS H. MCVEIGH

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

June 1 to August 31, 1937

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Aitken, Robert Grant, *Driving back the dark,* from *Popular Astronomy,* May, 1937; Deutch, Monroe E., *The art of arts,* 1937; Fire Underwriters Association of the Pacific, *The Knapsack,* S.F., 1898; *A leaf from the 1611 King James Bible,* S. F.: Grabhorn Press, 1937; Markham, Edwin, *Star of Araby* [New York], 1937; Markham, Virgil, *Snatch,* London c. 1936; [Mason, M. C.], *The Builder,* S. F., 1929; [Newman, Cardinal], *Lead Kindly Light,* [S. F., 1937]; O'Day, Nell, compiler, *Catalogue of books printed by John Henry Nash,* S. F., Nash, 1937; *Patricia Morbio, 1889-1937,* [S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1937]; *Stanford book of verse, 1912-1916,* [Stanford University], 1916.

From MRS. EDMOND D. COBLENTZ—California Miners' Association, *California mines and minerals,* S. F., 1899; Latta, F. F., comp., *Uncle Jeff's story,* Tulare, c. 1929; *Western shore gazeteer & commercial directory . . . Yolo County,* Woodland, 1870.

From MISS FLORENCE R. KEENE—Coleman, Rufus A., ed., *The Golden West in story and verse,* N. Y., c. 1932; Irwin, Wallace, *The love sonnets of a hoodlum,* S. F., c. 1901; Meehan, John, *Songs of a chimney swallow,* S. F., Nash, 1936.

From MRS. GRACE D. LIGHTNER—Glasscock, C. B., *The golden highway,* N. Y., c. 1934.

From OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE—Cleland, Robert Glass, *The history of Occidental College,* Los Angeles, 1937.

From MR. EDWARD F. O'DAY—Addison, Joseph, *Trial of the wine brewers,* S. F., 1930; *Purcell Pontifex,* S. F., 1937.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Cross, William T. and Dorothy E., *Newcomers and nomads in California,* Stanford University, 1937.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Drake, H. H., *Sir Francis Drake,* [Exeter: Archaeological Institute, 1873]; McAdie, Alexander B., *Nova Albion*—1579, Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1918.

NEWSPAPERS

From MISS ANNA W. BEAVER—*Daily Alta California,* September 10, 1869.

From MR. EDWIN T. BLAKE—*Daily Alta California,* July 7, 1856.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—*Daily Examiner,* San Francisco, March 4, 1887.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. HARRIET DE MARI—Photographs: 7 views of Missions, 5 scenes near Redlands, 1 of redwood near Santa Cruz, 1 of residence of Captain Babcock, San Francisco; Map showing mineral deposits of California, drawn by J. C. Henkenius, lith. by Britton & Rey.

From PROF. ERWIN G. GUDDE—Colored reproduction of painting of John A. Sutter by Frank Buchser (framed).

From NATIONAL ART GALLERIES—Twenty-five colored reproductions of paintings of California Missions by Will Sparks.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. MARTIN E. THOMAS—Lists and tables from a study on the subject of sea voyages to El Dorado [Typewritten MS].

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Badge, California Pilgrimage of Knights Templar, 1883.

LOANS

From MRS. HARRIET DE MARI—20 photographs showing building of the Loma Prieta Railroad and people connected with it.

From MRS. H. C. ROTHWELL—Scrapbook of newspaper clippings (mostly views of early San Francisco).

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

OWING TO LACK OF SPACE, the "Western History Check List" has been omitted from this number of the *Quarterly*, but members of the Society will be interested to learn that among the books recently published and having to do with Western History, four of them are by their fellow members.

For years Mr. Henry Raup Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies* has been regarded as the basic authority for early overland travel and adventure. This bibliography has now been reissued under the editorship of another member, Dr. Charles L. Camp, with much new matter added. All collectors of Californiana have long realized the importance of Mr. Wagner's work, the original edition of which has risen in price so that only those of ample means can afford a copy of this scarce book. This fact and the discovery of many hitherto unnoted items of travel and adventure printed between the years 1800 and 1865 induced Messrs. Wagner and Camp to have the Grabhorn Press print a new limited edition of 600 copies. This volume is of octavo size, contains 299 pages and is illustrated by 24 reproductions of title pages.

Dr. George D. Lyman has added another to his fine studies of Western Biography—his *John Marsh, Pioneer* and *The Saga of the Comstock Lode*. Members will find this latest of Dr. Lyman's contributions as fascinating and informative as those which preceded it.

A third book to be mentioned is Dr. Robert Glass Cleland's *History of Occidental College, 1887-1937*, which tells the story of this institution's first fifty years. Very properly, the Dean of its Faculty was given the assignment, which he has fulfilled in his usual pleasing style.

The Stanford University Press announces the publication of *Historic Spots in California—Counties of the Coast Range*, by Mildred Brooke Hoover (Mrs. Theodore J. Hoover). This volume, in addition to the two already issued—"The Southern Counties" and "Valley and Sierra Counties"—completes the series of *Historic Spots in California* and places in small compass a mass of important information. Mrs. Hoover's researches covering the Mexican land grants make the book an invaluable addition to Californiana.

Mr. Martin E. Thomas has presented the Society with a typewritten copy of lists from his study of sea voyages to California, 1848 to 1855, which all engaged in research work covering the early years of transportation by water will find of great help. Mr. Thomas has listed both printed items and those still in manuscript, and has indicated the location of each.

It should be noted that, thanks to the generous response of members to the appeal for contributions for the purchase of the Frederick C. Clift collection of Californiana, the sum of $1021.98 was received, from which transportation, sales tax and other expenses will have to be deducted, leaving about $125. to go toward moving costs. At the present time the collection, packed in boxes, is in storage in San Francisco awaiting the removal of the Society to its new quarters at 456 McAllister Street this winter, when it will be placed on exhibition. The fire-proof building at the above address will also house the Society of California Pioneers, and arrangements are being made so that the libraries and other collections of both societies will be readily available to members of each and to the public. (See p. 255 for contributors to Clift Collection fund.)

Another installment of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" appears in the present issue. This will bring the date of the items down to....., 1855. Much work will have to be done to prepare the outline for the year 1856, for, strangely enough, no one in the past has even seen fit to undertake it. This being the year of the Vigilance Committee it will require close research to gather a complete summary. However, while this is being done, the Continuation may temporarily jump the year 1856 and start with 1857, which in large measure is immediately available.